

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1923

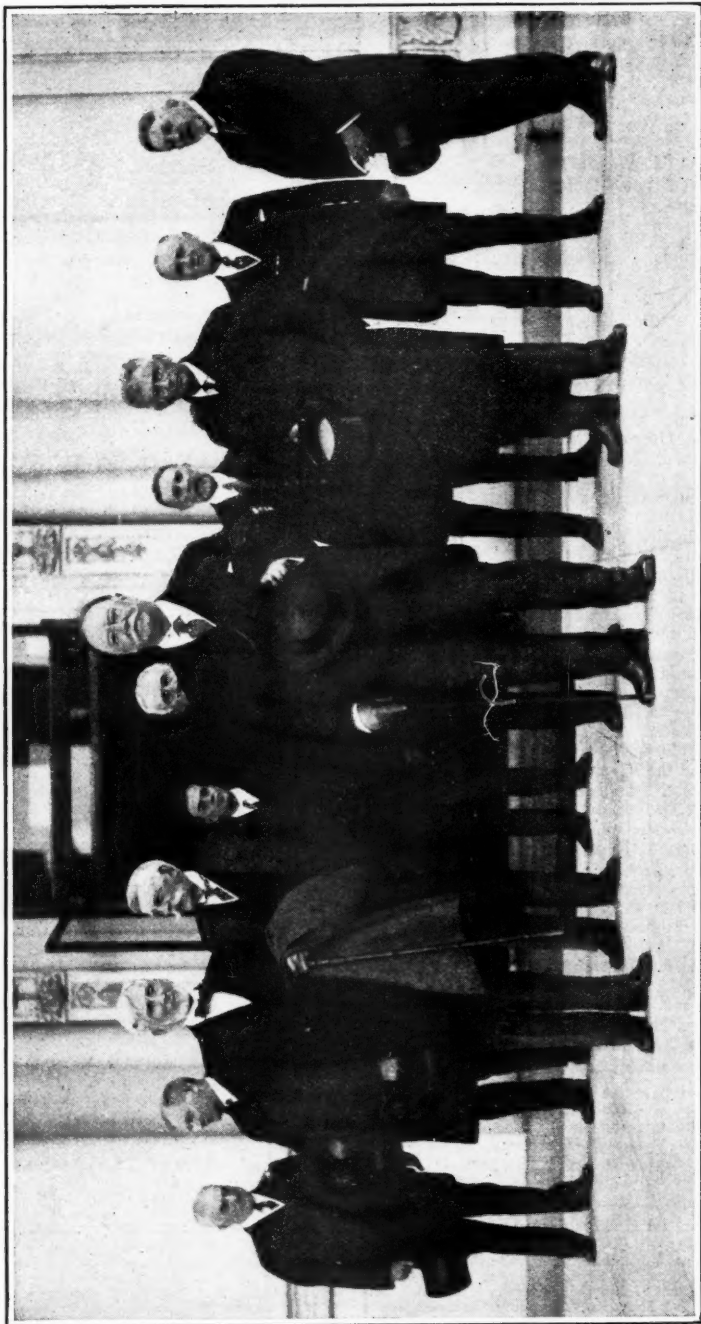
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THE MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT CALLING AT THE WHITE HOUSE LAST MONTH TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT THAT THE COURT HAD RECONVENED

(Chief Justice Taft is in the center, with the two veteran members, Holmes and McKenna, to the reader's left. Justices Sutherland and Brandeis stand to the right of Mr. Taft, with Attorney-General Daugherty next and Justice Sanford at the extreme right. Justice Butler is second from the left of the group)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXVIII

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1923

No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

An Era of Political Change

The steadiness of our national and State machinery of government has been contrasted by many writers and speakers, since the Great War, with the shakiness and eccentric movement of government and politics in Europe. The British Empire on its part meets threatened crises with an elasticity of adjustment that absorbs the shocks. Radical changes, nevertheless, are taking place in the British Empire. The successful emergence of the Irish Free State is, upon the whole, the greatest specific triumph of British statesmanship in recent times; and we should be very short sighted, and wholly unable to see things in their relative importance, if we failed at this time when Mr. Lloyd George is making his brief visit here to give him credit for his essential part in this momentous Irish settlement. With the north of Ireland running a separate government, and the rest of Ireland enjoying the quality of an independent sovereignty associated with the other self-governing peoples that acknowledge the British Crown, it is plain that great changes are coming about in the political structure of what has so long been known as the "United Kingdom," while even greater changes are coming about in what is known as the "British Empire."

Britain's Shock- Absorbing Machine

Mr. Lloyd George is justified in the lofty tributes he has been paying in Canada to the purely voluntary war services of the Dominion. Not less than 400,000 Canadian troops, we are reminded, crossed the ocean to fight for the allied cause, and this without any solicitation from the British Government, much less without any pretense of imperial demand. The self-governing communities of Canada, Australia, South

Africa, and New Zealand are told—not alone by Mr. Lloyd George but by all other British statesmen—that their future pathways are free for their own choices. Canada cannot escape from the geographical fact that she is a part of North America, nor can she long ignore the relations that grow out of her position in the Western Hemisphere. Her destinies are much more closely allied to those of the United States than to those of the home countries from which both of our English-speaking North American confederacies were colonized. But there is to be coöperation and good will throughout the English-speaking world, and statesmen in all of these countries must have such coöperation in their minds as a definite object.

Ireland and the Imperial Conference

The annual meeting of the premiers and other representatives of the British Dominions at London last month—the so-called Imperial Conference—had as one of its objects the devising of better plans for harmonizing foreign policies throughout the empire. To have thus assembled in 1923, with the Irish question settled and with Ireland represented in a harmonious conference, is a memorable thing. It means no slight change in the practical structure of the House of Commons to have the solid mass of Irish members permanently absent. Under the Representation Act of 1918, which extended the franchise to several million women, the total membership of the House of Commons was increased from 670 (as established in 1885) to 707. Last year, however, the number was reduced to 615 (this including thirteen from northern Ireland) by reason of the creation of the Irish Parliament at Dublin, and the organization of the smaller entity in the north with its

parliament at Belfast. Almost no other country could have gone through the changes that our British friends have recently experienced, with such resolute acquiescence in the results.

*Financing
the New
Ireland*

We are glad to publish in this number an excellent article on the problems of finance and taxation that the new Irish Free State is encountering. It is no small task, in these times of heavy public burdens, for one of the new sovereignties on the European Continent to obtain an income that will pay current bills and provide for public indebtedness. Irish finances would not have been so difficult, but for the terrible cost inflicted upon the Free State by the mad folly of De Valera's civil war. But, generally speaking, Ireland's position is secure when compared with the perplexities that surround the new sovereign States all the way from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Miss Comstock, who writes on Irish finance, is a professor of economics in Mount Holyoke College who has written much upon taxation and related questions.

*Confidence
in Britain's
Survival*

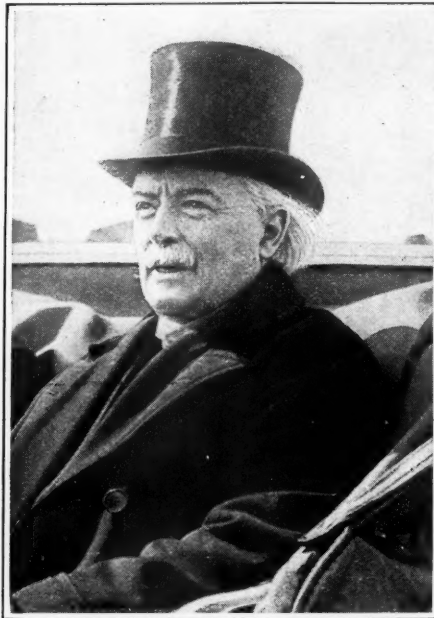
In spite of tremendous economic difficulties that have followed the decline of outside markets since the war, everybody believes in the capacity of the British people to pull through, and in the strength of the representative institutions under which those island democracies govern themselves. The autumnal imperial gatherings at London are not a matter of days, but of weeks; and we shall have occasion next month to consider the topics of this year's sessions. Meanwhile, it may be remarked in passing that a certain disintegration of parties in Great Britain, now so apparent, is likely to

have a considerable effect in the future upon the everyday workings of the machinery of government.

*Tariffs and
Diplomacy*

The topic under discussion at London which interests the outside world in particular is that of the tariff policy to be pursued by the different parts of the British Empire with reference to the whole. Reduced to its simplest terms, the question is whether it is

going to be possible to convert all the countries whose inhabitants are subjects of the British Crown into a unified trade group, with free trade among themselves and protective tariffs as against other countries. Mr. Bruce, the Australian Premier, is taking the lead for preferential tariffs. It is obvious that Canada's economic interests as a part of North America are increasingly allied with those of the United States, and that full American reciprocity would, in the long run, be a much better Dominion policy than that which Mr. Bruce advocates and which



RT. HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

London would naturally desire for political as well as business reasons. The Dominion leaders in the London Conference are also raising questions about the extent to which their countries are to be involved in the military and diplomatic affairs of Europe with which Lord Curzon as British Foreign Minister is so constantly occupied.

*Mr. Lloyd
George a Wel-
come Visitor*

Sitting in the House of Commons of late, with a mere fragment of a minority party following his lead, Mr. Lloyd George had seemed—to some who are in contact with the immediate moves in the game of British politics—to be altogether “down and out.” There were times after his retirement from office when Theodore Roosevelt also seemed

to the politicians to have shrunk to small dimensions as a statesman and as a surviving influence. Yet in due time the authority of Roosevelt's leadership began to be recognized again; and, but for his lamented illness and death, he would have been the unanimous nominee of a reunited party in the Republican convention of 1920. Now, when Mr. Lloyd George leaves the precincts of Westminster and lands in New York, three thousand miles away from the daily chatter of British political journalism, he stands out again in his real proportions as one of the foremost statesmen of modern times. His courage, tenacity, and ultimate success in the political struggles that broke the power of the House of Lords and that lessened the exemptions and privileges of a landholding aristocracy, subjected him to bitter hatred but gave him an assured place in the long history of the rise of democracy and the decay of feudalism. His leadership of the Coalition of British parties through the latter half of the war period, and his part in the peace treaties and reconstruction policies—all this is too recent to be overlooked. The party pendulum will oscillate in future perhaps more rapidly even than in times past; and it would not be rash to predict that Mr. Lloyd George may have further chapters to add to his long career of responsible leadership in the affairs of Great Britain and the Empire. Mr. Frank Dilnot, an English writer well known to Americans, contributes to our present number an intimate sketch of Mr. Lloyd George's personality. Mr. Dwight Heard, of Arizona, a typical American leader in public affairs and in western business enterprise, in a brief page of reminiscence gives us a felicitous account of the investiture of the Prince of Wales under the premiership of Mr. Lloyd George a dozen years ago, as Mr. Heard himself witnessed it while sight-seeing in the British Isles.

*Flare-Ups
on the
Continent*

On the Continent, the changes are far greater; and there seems to be a general drift away from what have been considered the normal processes of constitutional government. In our last number we published articles that called especial attention to Mussolini and the high-handed assumption of control in Italy by the Fascisti. We are publishing in this number a similarly timely account of the recent military revolution in Spain, and the grasping of the reins of power by



KING ALFONSO, WITH RIVERA AND THE MILITARY LEADERS WHO UPSET THE OLD POLITICAL REGIME IN SPAIN

(General Rivera is at the extreme left)

General Primo de Rivera. Our contributor, Mr. Macdonald, seven years ago was writing excellent articles for us on war conditions in Canada. He has now for some time past been a resident of Barcelona; and he is an accurate observer of the course of affairs in Spain. We are also publishing a strikingly interesting account by Dr. Frank P. Graves, head of the Education Department of the State of New York, of the remarkable revolution in Bulgaria that drove the peasant party's premier, Stamboliisky, from the seat of power—this again being a military movement. The experiences of Greece, Hungary, and several other countries might be cited; and Mr. Simonds this month is calling attention to the situation in Germany where, particularly in Bavaria, the tendency for some time has been toward a dictatorship with militarism in the background. This tendency was exhibited on a much greater scale at Berlin in the middle of October, when Chancellor Stresemann, supported by President Ebert, and in spite of Reichstag opposition, was able to assume powers that for the time being are those of a dictator rather than a parliamentary prime minister. Even in France, the power now exercised by Premier Poincaré, with the full support of the President of the republic, is much more that of a

ruler like Mussolini than that of a French premier in normal times.

*Are We
Running Wild
in America?*

Perhaps from observation points across the Atlantic things political do not seem altogether normal in the United States. In the last number of the *Round Table*, a quarterly periodical the principal object of which is to review the politics of the British Empire, is an article on American affairs, entitled "The Revolt of the Middle West." A periodical of that kind is leisurely in its movements, and its articles do not reach the reader with the freshness of his daily newspaper. But this adds to its value for those who like to have current matters presented in the spirit of the historian, caring for the essence of things and winnowing the wheat from the chaff. This unsigned article tells of the Farmer-Labor victory in Minnesota, and discusses in a sweeping way the economic and political unrest that has been evident for the past year or two in the Mississippi Valley and beyond. Now let us ask how the writer sums up what seems to him to be the social, economic, and political condition of the great American people in this present year. Nothing is more salutary than to see ourselves as others see us, and hence we cheerfully quote as follows:

What does it all mean—this story of a revolt in the Middle West; panic among politicians; Henry Ford in the public eye; Congress in a state of chaos? And those other things which have not been mentioned: the stock exchange treading as cautiously as a cat; industry seeing shadows on the wall at every turn; the Protestant churches in a fine fury over the appearance of theological doctrines which are already antiquated abroad; skirmishes off the New Jersey coast with rum-running ships; twenty-five persons killed in motor accidents on a single Sunday; a lynching in Missouri attended by high school girls; the Ku Klux Klan moving unchecked over the face of the country. . . . And, in the State of Minnesota, one lone man saying, "I got a pretty good farm; and I got a good size mortgage on it, and I got a wife and children. . . ." Is it Magnus Johnson's doctrine that sounds so radical, or is it his terrible simplicity?

What does it mean—this business of stepping courageously up to a League of Nations, and then running away from it; embracing an International Court, and then pushing it aside?

It means this: that the labor of consolidating the United States into a nation is far from finished. It was a task severe enough for the best thought and work devoted to it before the war; it has been infinitely complicated by the war itself and by America's part in that war. Never did the problems of the country demand more quick obedience to their summons, more sleepless service, more plain, old-fashioned prayer than they

demand to-day. Yet never have these springs of national virtue stood at a lower level. In the presence of Germany's dissolution, crises of unemployment and the threat of war, does this seem a trivial affair? Be assured that it is not. Some day the historian may speak of the task of establishing conditions of freedom among men on the American continent as one equal in magnitude to the reconstruction of Europe.

Having made this quotation, we shall leave it to our readers to consider whether or not the anonymous long-range observer is seeing things as they are. Certainly our statistics of homicide and of violent crime are constantly used in Europe to put us in a bad light. For every murder in Great Britain, we have scores if not hundreds in the United States. Much analysis, however, is required before a comparison of this kind is valuable for purposes of inference. As regards the course of government, in the main we are moving along within our constitutional channels, although we are making more changes than most of our people would be ready offhand to admit. A great number of the States have within a few years adopted novelties in their constitutions, and the results of the recent federal amendments begin already to affect American life profoundly. But, after all, America has not been politically tranquil for a hundred years.

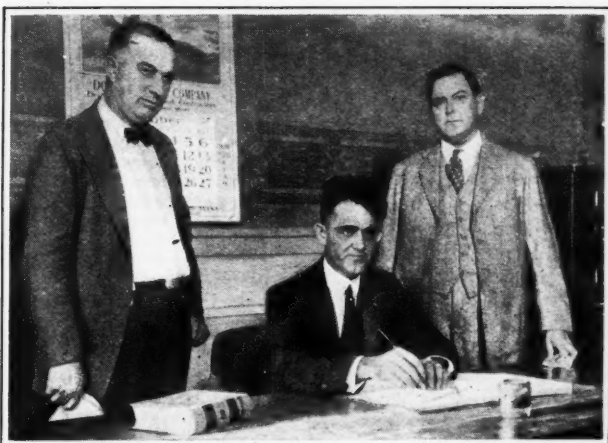
*Oklahoma's
Struggle for
Control*

The most exciting of recent tests of the working of government machinery has been afforded by the struggle of Governor J. C. Walton of Oklahoma to carry on the affairs of his State, as against rising tides of opposition which seem almost certain soon to have accomplished his overthrow. The story is not so long in time as in the multiplicity of its incidents. Mr. Walton was elected Governor by combined support of the Democratic and the Farmer-Labor parties last November; and he entered upon his four-year term at the beginning of the present year. Certain incidents at or near the city of Tulsa some time ago led the Governor to denounce the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. He established martial law locally, and subjected a prominent newspaper to military censorship. He was obliged to lift this censorship as manifestly illegal; but he extended the sweep of martial law. Public opinion ran strongly against his methods, and there was a movement to bring the legislature into session with a view to his impeachment. But under the Okla-

homa Constitution, the legislature could not be convened in special session, except as called by the Governor himself. It happens, however, that the Oklahoma Constitution provides for the initiative and referendum, although it does not provide for the recall of high officials.

*A Resort
to the
"Initiative"* Under the
initiative

clause, a requisite number of citizens signed petitions for a special election to vote upon an amendment to the Constitution. This amendment was intended to arm the legislature with power to meet of its own accord, provided a majority of the members should join in the call. The special election was held October 2, and the amendment to the Constitution was carried by an overwhelming vote. The legislators, thereupon, proceeded to fix October 17 as the date upon which they



© Alvin C. Krupnick, Tulsa

JUDGE ALBERT C. HUNT, OF OKLAHOMA, WHO WAS CONSPICUOUS
IN THE FIGHT AGAINST GOVERNOR WALTON

(At the left is Sheriff Bob Sanford, and at the right is John M. Goldsberry,
prosecuting attorney)



HON. J. C. WALTON, GOVERNOR OF OKLAHOMA

would meet, with the well understood object of presenting articles of impeachment against Governor Walton. All along, the Governor had done what he could to oppose or obstruct the swift movement of affairs that we have just recounted. By a sudden change in his tactics, he called the legislature to meet in special session on Thursday, October 11, thus anticipating the self-invoked meeting that had been set for the 17th. As in most other States, the Governor may call a special session, which is restricted to the matters of business that he lays before it. The legislature, on its part, is competent to assemble, deal rapidly with the Governor's recommendations, accepting or rejecting them at its own pleasure, and to adjourn. Thus the Oklahoma lawmakers could respond if they chose to the Governor's call for the 11th, without impairing in any way their freedom to re-assemble on the 17th, and to deal with any measures whatsoever that they might choose to take up.

*Gov. Walton's
Compromise
Offers*

It was reported in dispatches from Oklahoma City dated October 9 that the Governor had made still another change of position, and had announced that he would resign if the legislature would pass a bill that he would present two days later, designed to outlaw or regulate the Ku Klux Klan. Governor Walton declared that many

Oklahomans had taken up the slogan "We want neither klan nor king." He admitted that they were referring to him as having assumed the reins of power like an absolute monarch. "When this bill becomes a law," he remarked, "it will rid the State of the Klan, and I will resign the office of Governor immediately thereupon. In this way the people will be protected from the Klan, and peace and harmony can be restored in the State." It was evident that the Governor had met with defeat, and it did not seem likely that his offer to resign would be accepted. The two questions, indeed—if the facts are as they have seemed to be—bear no close relation to one another. If masked men calling themselves by any name whatever have been terrorizing individuals or communities in Oklahoma, and interfering with the proper work of the courts of law, then it would seem reasonable that such abuses should be prohibited and that associations of a certain general character should be subjected to regulation and control, with due publicity.

*What Is
Behind
the Fight?*

But it has been strongly asserted that the reason for attempting to remove Governor Walton by impeachment proceedings is by no means due solely to his opposition to the proceedings of the Ku Klux Klan. Governor Walton's career in office is one thing, and the alleged abuses perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan may logically be dealt with as a separate matter. Oklahoma is a State that has a marvelous variety of natural resources, and an ambitious, well-disposed population. Nothing could be further from the real intentions of Oklahoma people than to lay aside the safe and normal institutions of representative government, or to break down the dignity of the law in relation to social order. The efforts of Governor Parker of Louisiana a year or two ago to maintain order appeared to the country to be aimed directly against certain abuses of a serious kind. By contrast, the disputes in which Governor Walton has become involved in Oklahoma have not seemed to run exactly parallel to the Louisiana situation with which Governor Parker was dealing.

*The Governor's
Past Record*

The Governor, popularly known as Jack Walton, had been Mayor of Oklahoma City, and he was elected Governor by an im-

mense plurality on a decidedly radical program. To quote from an article of our own, published a few months ago, on the Governors of the South and West:

Governor Walton's policy includes State loans to farmers' coöperative organizations, the building of a system of State grain warehouses, and the lending of public funds to individual farmers on State warehouse certificates. It is proposed that these warehouses be built of cement made by the State. He recommends that State roads be paid for by abutting land owners.

Governor Walton was born on a farm in Marion County, Indiana, became a railroad conductor and later a successful civil engineer. He began his political career as Oklahoma City's Commissioner of Public Works and later was elected Mayor.

The Governor duly presented his message to the legislature, making sweeping charges against the Ku Klux Klan and endeavoring to put his case before the country as that of a contest for law and order against a secret movement that was usurping power and menacing liberty. The legislature ignored the Governor's demands, and proceeded to appoint its committees and gather its evidence for an impeachment trial.

*Governor Pierce
of Oregon
Under Attack*

In a presentation of the new Governors of the Far West in our April number, we gave an account of the election in Oregon of the Democratic candidate, Walter M. Pierce, a farmer who carried a strongly Republican State by a great majority. Ku Klux Klan issues have been very prominent in Oregon, and it was asserted a year ago that Mr. Pierce owed his success to the fact that the Klan forces had turned against Governor Olcott, who was the nominee for reelection on the Republican ticket. In that remarkable election, the people of the State gave their approval to a bill that had been presented by means of the "initiative," in accordance with which all children between eight and sixteen must attend the public schools and may not have the option of attending either private or parochial schools. Mr. Pierce as a candidate had lent his support to this measure—which, by the way, is not yet operative, some three years being allowed for the private and parochial schools to go out of business. It is now reported that Governor Pierce has aroused so much opposition that an attempt will be made to have him "recalled" by popular vote. The recall petitions were in circulation last month, but it was not known whether a sufficient number of signers could be ob-

tained to compel the holding of an election. If Governor Pierce should be "recalled," it is said that he would make a hard fight for an immediate reelection. New constitutional wrinkles, as exemplified in such recent activities as those in Oklahoma and Oregon, will well merit careful study by citizens of other States.

*Indiana's
Governor
in Trouble*

Another Governor is in serious difficulty, but the conditions are of a personal rather than political nature. Governor Warren T. McCray of Indiana, who has been in office since the beginning of 1921, and whose term does not expire until the beginning of 1925, is said to have conducted public business satisfactorily. But, several years before his election as Governor, he had become the president of a bank in the country town of Kentland, of which town he was the leading citizen, and he had entered upon a career of active business operations involving credit, and had borrowed money from many of the larger and smaller banks of the State. As every one knows, the decline in farm prices has seriously affected banks and credit institutions in all of the States in which agriculture is an important industry. It seems that Governor McCray was owing more than \$2,500,000; and in September he offered to turn over to his creditors holdings of various kinds which he valued at five or six hundred thousand dollars more than the total of his obligations.

*McCray May
Have to
Resign*

But Governor McCray's assets could not be converted into cash to meet his liabilities; and some bank failures have already been announced in consequence, while a great many small banks are seriously embarrassed. The Governor and his friends claim that he can continue to do justice to his public office, regardless of the collapse of his private affairs. For several months during the summer, it is understood, former Governor Goodrich and other leading Republicans were trying to save the situation, but without success. The Governor's transactions, furthermore, have been under investigation by a grand jury, while many civil suits have been filed against him. It is stated that he had borrowed money from 201 different banks throughout the State. Under all this pressure, it would seem almost beyond human possibility that the Governor could further maintain the dignity of his

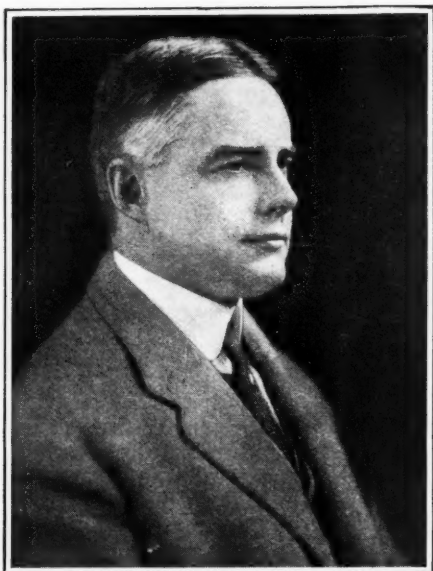


GOV. PIERCE OF OREGON

great office, and continue to perform its manifold duties, with justice to the trust that was reposed in him by the voters.

*Elections
This Year—
Kentucky*

Not many of the States are electing Governors on November 6, although members of legislatures are to be elected in various States, while minor elections of one kind or another are numerous. A majority of the States choose their Governors in even years, and many of them will be voting for State tickets next year at the same time that the country is electing a President and a new Congress. In Maryland, Kentucky, and two or three States of the lower South, a Governor is to be chosen this year. The Kentucky contest has attracted attention from the national leaders of both parties. Governor Morrow, the incumbent, is a Republican, and the Democrats are hoping to carry the State in anticipation of the greater party struggle of next year. As the campaign approaches its end, prominent speakers from both parties have invaded the State. The Republican candidate is Charles I. Dawson, at present the Attorney General under Governor Morrow. The Democratic nomination went to Congressman Cantrill, who died soon after the primary



GOVERNOR A. C. RITCHIE, OF MARYLAND,
RENOMINATED FOR A SECOND TERM



HON. WILLIAM J. FIELDS, DEMOCRATIC NOM-
INEE FOR GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY

election; and Congressman William J. Fields has been put on the ticket in his place. Legislation intended to diminish the importance of horse-racing in Kentucky has been the most prominent of local issues. Another question at stake is the proposal to put a State tax on the production of coal. Dawson belongs to the mountain region of East Kentucky, where the Republican vote is strongest, and the result promises to be a close one.

*The Contest
in Mary-
land*

In Maryland, the Democrats on September 20 nominated Governor A. C. Ritchie for another term, and their platform attacks the Volstead law and advocates its modification to the extent of permitting the sale of wines and beer. The Republican convention of September 27, over which former Governor Goldsborough presided, selected as its candidate for Governor the present Attorney General, Hon. Alexander Armstrong, of Hagerstown. The Republican platform makes no reference at all to the prohibition question, but is characterized by aggressive criticism of Governor Ritchie's administration. Maryland has been making decided progress in its school system. Its good roads are now a matter of pride, while its improved health laws and its institutional administra-

tion are brought forward on Governor Ritchie's behalf as entitling him to reelection. Whatever may be the merits of rival parties, the commonwealth of Maryland seems to be intent upon the adoption of modern methods.

*Exceptional
Candidates*

The Republicans in their platform call attention to the fact that "no Governor of Maryland has ever succeeded himself"; and it is further observed that "this custom, continuously adhered to, is significant as a guarantee against too great concentration of power." It might have been better to have stated the fact, without treating it so seriously. There are friends of Governor Ritchie who remember how Woodrow Wilson's success in a contest for the governorship of New Jersey in 1911 gave him a presidential nomination in 1912; and they are saying that Ritchie is a good enough man for any position. Republicans, on the other hand, while admitting that Governor Ritchie is "a gentleman of engaging personal qualities, tremendously handsome and of unblemished record," assert that he has not been as severe a watchdog of the Maryland treasury as he might have been. To quote newspapers again, the Republican candidate, Alexander Armstrong, is "almost

as handsome as Governor Ritchie, about as young, and possesses that vague, indefinable, but important, quality of personality." The outside observer might well think that Maryland is fortunate in having two such extremely attractive and desirable candidates. The City of Baltimore in politics is to the State of Maryland what the City of New York is to its State. For strictly partisan reasons, it seems likely that the Democrats this year will carry Maryland.

*Issues in
New York
State*

In New York, the Republicans are making a strong fight to regain control of the legislature, and they are attacking what they call Tammany's rule of the State. Party lines are strongly drawn on both sides. Several proposed amendments to the Constitution are to be acted upon by the voters, besides which New York City itself has a referendum on a proposal to advance the minimum wage of policemen and firemen to \$2500 a year. This boost would add to the city's payroll an immediate increase of about two and a half millions. One of the State amendments is a re-submission of the proposal to provide a fund of forty-five million dollars for a soldiers' bonus. After the bonus referendum of three years ago, the Court of Appeals decided that the adoption of the amendment—in its particular form—was unconstitutional. Another proposal has to do with the use of the State's forest lands, particularly in the Adirondacks, for storage dams in the interest of waterpower companies. For excellent reasons, this amendment is opposed in the public interest, as being improperly drawn and as endangering the forest preserves. Two of the proposed amendments have to do with municipal debts and home rule, and the fifth is intended to extend the privilege of voting to absentees who are inmates of soldiers' and sailors' homes.

*A Real
Test of
Literacy*

Our readers may remember that the Constitution of New York was amended in 1921 to provide that all new voters must be able to read and write the English language. A later amendment dealt with the administration of the tests, this obviously being a vital point. Early in October, a suit was brought by the Citizens' Union and the Honest Ballot Association to enjoin the Election Boards from attempting to administer this literacy requirement. The last legislature,

acting under the amendment, had conferred upon the State's educational authorities the exclusive power to prescribe tests and issue literacy certificates. On October 10, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court overruled the Attorney-General, and sustained the view that election officials could not supersede the Education Department in passing upon literacy qualifications. Thus new voters who appeared for registration last month were obliged to take with them certificates granted under rules that had been devised by the State Board of Regents; and the public schools throughout the State have been making the examinations of the numerous applicants.

*Voters
Should Be
Intelligent*

Hardly less than two hundred thousand persons, otherwise eligible, must have faced these requirements in October, in order to be enrolled as voters for this year's election. The Regents' test requires not merely that the applicant may be able to read a few words after a fashion, but that he must be able to read intelligently, as becomes a citizen. In New York City under the direction of Dr. William L. Ettinger, Superintendent of Schools, night sessions were held and every effort made to afford applicants a due opportunity to show their ability to read English properly and to write legibly a prescribed example, while also answering in writing several questions based upon that example. This is making something worth while out of a literacy test. The time has come when no foreigner should be naturalized except upon affirmative qualifications of the most unmistakable sort; while native-born voters should be made to feel that the privilege of active political citizenship is something that does not come of itself with the attainment of legal age, but is a thing that requires proof of intelligence and character.

*Presiden-
tial
Politics*

New York City is making an energetic effort to secure the national Democratic convention of next year. The move is in the interest of business rather than of politics, but many Democrats in the West and South are disposed to think of it as an endeavor to subject the great Democratic folk-moot to an undue pressure of Tammany influence. In political circles, the talk about presidential candidates will not subside until the conventions are held next



FIRST-VOTERS IN NEW YORK CITY, TAKING THE NEW LITERACY TEST IN AN EVENING SCHOOL

summer. The regular Republican organization is showing a remarkable alacrity in its disposition to commit itself at once to the plan of nominating President Coolidge as the surviving head of the Harding-Coolidge Administration. Thus the accepted leaders in New York State seem to have joined New England cordially in support of the Coolidge movement. Pennsylvania might prefer to wait somewhat, in view of the strength of Governor Pinchot.

Republican Candidates But Mr. Pinchot himself is a sincere man, and he informs the country that he is not playing presidential politics, but is devoting himself single-mindedly to the task of administering the affairs of Pennsylvania. Having taken the lead in settling the coal strike, he is boldly attempting to enforce the prohibitory laws. It is expected that Senator Hiram Johnson of California will be a strong candidate before the primaries, and that his campaign will be in the hands of Mr. Lasker of Chicago, who has retired from the Shipping Board. It is also understood that the friends of Senator La Follette, like those of Senator Johnson, will present the name of their leader in the primaries and the convention. While Mr. Lowden of Illinois is by no means forgotten as one of the principal candidates of 1920, there seems to be no active movement on his behalf. It was stated in the

press last month that he might be offered the post of Ambassador at London, from which Mr. George Harvey is about to retire. Governor Lowden, if such a place were to his liking, has every qualification to fill it acceptably.

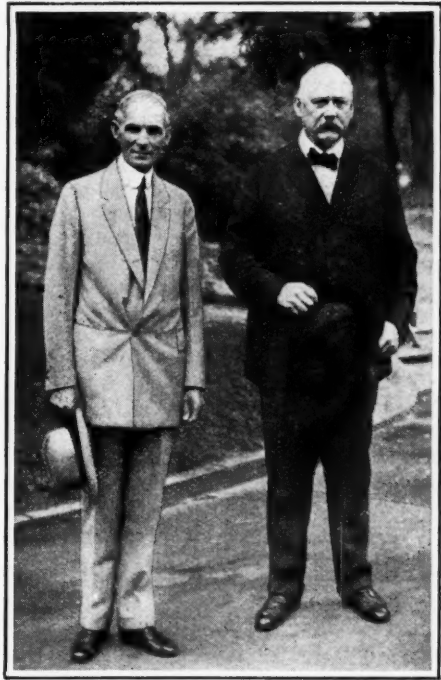
*The
Preference
Primaries*

Less than half of the States will hold primaries for the expression of the presidential preference of voters; but the list of States holding such primaries includes some of the most important, in the political sense. Both North and South Dakota hold their primaries as early as March 18. Wisconsin's occurs on April 1, that of Illinois on April 8, New Jersey's April 22, and Nebraska's April 15. Ohio and Massachusetts hold theirs on April 29, while Michigan and Maryland vote on May 5, Indiana May 6, California May 13, Oregon May 16, Pennsylvania and Vermont May 20, Montana and West Virginia May 27, and Florida June 3. These States, besides expressing a presidential preference, elect their district delegates to the conventions in primaries, while their delegates at large are chosen by State conventions. The State of New York chooses district delegates in primaries, but does not vote on preference for presidential nominees. The Democratic primaries this year are bound to be of unusual interest because there is to be a real struggle for the nomination; while the Republicans may—

and likely enough will—decide to go before the country on the record of the present administration and to make President Coolidge their standard bearer. Mr. McAdoo is regarded among political observers as the leading Democratic candidate, with Senator Underwood as next, and Senator Ralston of Indiana as strong in the sense of having been groomed by political leaders as a possible compromise candidate, after New York State has given its complimentary vote to Governor Smith. While there has been less talk of Mr. Henry Ford as a candidate during recent weeks, it is likely enough that if the Republicans and Democrats should name two candidates so essentially conservative as Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Underwood there would be strong independent or third party movements, one of which might support Mr. Ford. What the Farmer-Labor leaders have in mind as regards a candidate has not been disclosed.

Muscle Shoals and Henry Ford At Detroit, on October 11, Mr. Henry Ford promulgated a statement about the Muscle

Shoals project in Alabama that has made a sensation. The flurry will not have subsided when Congress meets on the first Monday of December. Everyone will remember the main facts about the Government's great power development on the Tennessee River that absorbed something more than \$100,000,000 of public money, in our frantic endeavor to create enormous plants for making high explosives. The future of this unfinished project has been under discussion ever since the end of the war. Henry Ford was invited to make an offer for the property, with a view to his converting the Government's nitrate project into one for manufacturing fertilizers in time of peace. In case of war such a fertilizer plant could be taken over by the Government for making munitions. Mr. Ford made a proposal that was submitted to the last Congress, which failed to take action upon it. He has always stated that his intentions regarding Muscle Shoals had in view the public welfare and not his own profit or aggrandizement. Furthermore, he has always contended that the Muscle Shoals development should remain intact, and not be disposed of piecemeal to different companies. A part of the Government's immense investment at Muscle Shoals known as the Gorgas plant has recently been sold separately to the Alabama Power Company. Mr. Ford



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HENRY FORD (LEFT) WITH SECRETARY WEEKS

makes a personal attack upon the Hon. John W. Weeks, Secretary of War, and declares that political influences caused this separation of the Gorgas plant, and that Mr. Weeks is responsible for the failure of the last Congress to act favorably upon the Ford Motor Company's proposals.

An Aggressive Position The statement made by Mr. Ford is extended and uncompromising. He asserts that water-power and fertilizer financiers are behind all the efforts to prevent him from obtaining control at Muscle Shoals; and that all these other influences represent greed for private gain, while his attitude, in contrast, is that of the friend of American farmers. Naturally, the Ford statement made a hubbub at Washington, and took the attention not only of Mr. Weeks but of the President and the Cabinet. The Hearst newspapers immediately declared that the Ford statement had political bearings of the most definite kind, and that the Detroit manufacturer could not well avoid yielding to the pressure that has come to him from various quarters to run for the

presidency. President Coolidge, meanwhile, has been in Washington as an insider both of the Cabinet circle and of Congress, and probably no one is more familiar than he has been all along with the Muscle Shoals controversies. Mr. Weeks and Mr. Coolidge are both Massachusetts men, and the Secretary's statement of October 12 was issued after careful consultation at the White House. Mr. Weeks characterizes the Ford statements as "filled with reckless assertions." He suggests that Mr. Ford may not be personally familiar with the facts.

*Secretary
Weeks
Explains*

Mr. Weeks explains that the Gorgas plant was an isolated and temporary stream structure, to be used in view of immediate war emergencies, pending the completion of the water-power dam. The steam plant was ninety miles away, and was erected on the property of the Alabama Power Company, under conditions made by the Wilson Administration. Mr. Weeks proceeds with a very definite and precise account of the Muscle Shoals situation. His statement is wholly free from any tone of mere assertion, or from any appearance of evasion. Every point under dispute will of necessity be thrashed out in Congress committees and in open debate. Nevertheless, a personal attack such as that which Mr. Ford has launched against Mr. Weeks creates an impression in the popular mind that a

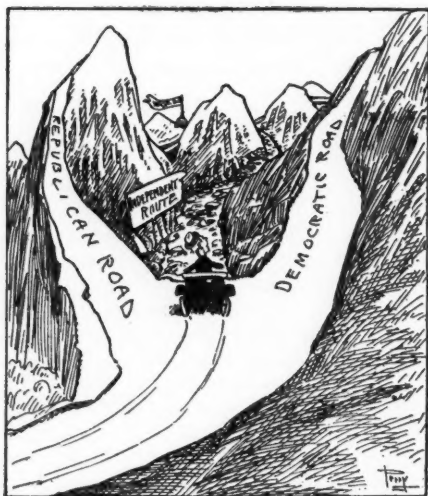
recital of severe facts in refutation does not readily efface. It is stated that President Coolidge—who of course has been familiar with every Government transaction of importance since his accession to the office he now holds—did not by any means consider the sale of the Gorgas plant as constituting an interference with the opportunities for developing the great power and nitrate plants that the Ford scheme has contemplated. In Nebraska, where they have now begun to circulate petitions with a view to entering the names of candidates in the presidential primary, Mr. Ford's friends are already at work, and it is understood that the Ford-for-President movement, which had been quiescent for a time, is now likely to go forward with a fresh momentum.

*Pinchot's
Challenge to
Law-breakers*

A sensation of a much less personal kind, and of a far more enduring significance, was that which Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania created on Sunday, October 14, in an address before a Citizenship Conference at Washington. The principal topic before the conference was the enforcement of law and the upholding of the prohibition amendment. Strong speeches were made by more than one man of prominence, but everything else in the proceedings of the Conference paled before the powerful sentences of Gifford Pinchot in his demand for obedience to the law. He reminded his hearers that President Washington in person had taken charge of the overthrow of the so-called "whisky rebellion" of August, 1794; and he called upon President Coolidge to take personal charge of a campaign to enforce the federal laws, to suppress smuggling, bootlegging, and the open manufacture of drinks having a high alcoholic content. He called attention to the official ramifications of the present machinery for enforcing the prohibitory laws, and declared that the whole business had from the start been hopelessly entangled in the meshes of politics. He made it clear that such large profits were involved in the illicit liquor trade that the criminals engaged in it could well afford to use immense sums for bribing officials or for influencing politicians.

*Politics
and
Prohibition*

The Governor was aware of the manifold duties devolving upon the President, but believed that, temporarily, the head of the



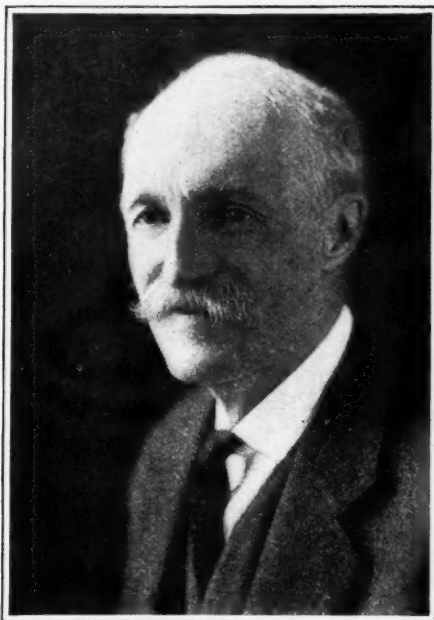
WILL HENRY TRY THE UNPAVED ROAD?

From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon)

[It now seems likely that Mr. Ford will travel by the rough, unimproved route]

Government ought to assume immediate direction in a matter of such moment. Mr. Coolidge has been in the White House only a few weeks, and he could not in the nature of the case have changed the system of law enforcement; so that it would be wholly unfair to assume that the Pennsylvania Governor was bringing charges of lukewarmness against the President. Neither had Mr. Pinchot any thought of reflecting upon the late President Harding, one of whose most impressive speeches on the western tour was devoted to the enforcement of prohibition. Furthermore, Mr. Pinchot would fully agree with former Governor Allen of Kansas that the States cannot properly evade the duty of extending all possible coöperation to the federal Government in making the law respected and in punishing those who violate it. Much of the Pinchot speech was devoted to a review of the history and status of prohibition enforcement in Pennsylvania. In that State, he declared, "the federal enforcement service lost its soul in politics, and will never be worth its salt until it is taken wholly out of politics." The present federal director, Major Murdock, he states, is the first in the history of enforcement in Pennsylvania to whom the State may look for real results.

The Issue Sharply Defined "Under the existing organization," says Mr. Pinchot, "the line of authority leads from the President to the Secretary of the Treasury, from him to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and from the Commissioner to various subordinates"; and he continues: "What is needed is an organization in which responsibility is definitely centered—one in which the buck cannot be passed, and over which the Chief Executive of the nation can exercise immediate direction and control." Mr. Pinchot paid his respects in the most emphatic terms to the notorious disobedience to the Eighteenth Amendment that has been flagrant in the Capital City itself, with "encouragement of lawbreaking by officials high in the Government of the United States." Finally, the outspoken Governor gives notice of "a fight to the finish." "There will be no compromise with lawbreakers in the State where our Constitution was born. The bootleggers will be beaten, and law and order will win." He ended his speech with the following remarks:



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HON. GIFFORD PINCHOT, GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA

"For years the liquor power and the Republican party were side partners in Pennsylvania. For years the liquor power and the Democratic party were side partners in New York. For years liquor has paid the bills for the dominant party in State after State throughout the nation. Their connection is too recent to be forgotten. In county after county in Pennsylvania illegal liquor still keeps the gang alive. That is one more reason why we must insist on the complete separation of politics from the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

"The issue is clear before us, and the outcome is assured. No band of criminals ever has or ever will defeat our Government and our people. We are going to win and win completely because they are wrong and we are right. They that fight with us are many times more than they that fight with our enemies."

As the quadrennial election year approaches, it is natural that every bold utterance of so eminent a leader as Gifford Pinchot should be construed by the politicians as a bid for presidential support. But it is quite unnecessary to make any such interpretation. The thing that Mr. Pinchot has succeeded in doing is to sharpen the issue, and to compel the Republican party to take a sincere stand and to free its skirts from the charge of compromise with grafters and crooks. The tone of the West regarding prohibition was well expressed in



THE NEW RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AT WASHINGTON FOR THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

(Mr. Pedro Guevara is one of two Resident Commissioners. The picture shows him at the White House, where he called to give President Coolidge first-hand information about prevailing conditions in the Philippines)

our pages last month by Mr. W. R. Boyd of Iowa. In our opinion, a great majority of the Republicans of the State of New York would vote for strict law enforcement if the question were submitted to them. The time may come when the people of the United States will wish to deal again with the Eighteenth Amendment, either for modification or for repeal; but at present law enforcement is the one and the only issue so far as the drink question is concerned.

*General Wood
and the
Filipinos*

For a good while past, the position of Governor-General Leonard Wood in the Philippines has been made difficult by the attitude of a large number of native leaders, who have been demanding complete independence for the islands and have been determined to discredit General Wood's administration by producing deadlocks alike in executive and legislative departments. In the opinion of those who have the best interests of the Filipino people at heart, advantage has been taken of the too rapid diminution of American official authority. Every one of sound judgment and broad international outlook is aware that the

Filipinos could not possibly maintain an independent government, and that the withdrawal of the United States would bring countless calamities upon the helpless mass of population, whose destinies could not be safely directed by the fluent and ambitious politicians who have been trying to break down the authority of the American Governor-General. It was reassuring to learn by dispatches of October 15 that there was indication that the legislature, which was assembling on the following day, would show a change of heart and would welcome General Wood in the presentation of his official message.

*Twenty-five
Years of Ameri-
can Service*

There are, after all, some leaders in the Philippines who are conservative as well as brilliant. When the true sentiment of intelligent people in the islands is tested, it will of course be found that they have no serious desire to be rid of the political security and of the great economic advantages that are derived from the fact that the American flag flies at Manila. No government could have been more generous or more intelligently helpful than that of the United States in the Philippines during the past twenty-five years. We have at hand a copy of a brief address made by General Wood at memorial services held at Manila on August 13, this being the twenty-fifth anniversary of the American occupation of the islands. The tribute paid by him to the character and services of Warren G. Harding was eloquent in its appreciation, and wise in its use of the occasion to interpret the spirit of American statesmanship. Referring to the twenty-fifth anniversary, General Wood said that a record of accomplishment had been made, "which reflects credit not only upon ourselves but upon the Filipinos who have coöperated loyally and earnestly."

*As to
Propaganda*

He ended with a plea for harmony in the great task still before us and declared that "the great problem of the future was still to be solved, and that it could be solved satisfactorily only by Filipinos and Americans working together and in the fullest spirit of coöperation." According to a Washington dispatch, General Wood has asked for leave of absence in order to visit the United States, and to make addresses here on the situation in the Philippines, in view of the enormous activity of the anti-



THE FOURTH ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, IN SESSION AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, IN SEPTEMBER

Wood propaganda that has been carried on in the United States by Filipino leaders. Other dispatches are to the effect that President Coolidge and Secretary Weeks are conversant with the situation, and are supporting General Wood in the fullest sense. It is indicated that the apparent weakening of the anti-Wood movement at Manila has been due to information as to the complete understanding between the Administration at Washington and the Governor-General.

*How the
League
Averted War*

Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, of New York, whose career of public service has been so varied and noteworthy, while so consistent in its aims, has become a recognized interpreter of international relations. He had gone through a severe schooling in the legal and financial departments of New York City's government, had made himself an authority upon American and European police systems, and had served from 1916 to 1919 under the Secretary of War and General Pershing in directing camp activities. From his presence at Paris during the peace negotiations, he was led by his sympathies as well as his obvious fitness to become one of the principal officials of the League of

Nations in its formative year. He has spent the past summer at Geneva, as a close observer of the work of the League, and now, upon his return, he gives our readers a remarkable summary of the facts in relation to the withdrawal of the Italians from Corfu. He presents the League in the aspect of a forum, where great issues can be discussed in such a way as to bring the opinion of the world to bear upon a threatening situation. He makes it clear that if the League, even in its present undeveloped state, had been in existence in 1914, the Austrian attack upon Serbia would have been averted.

*American
"Aloofness"*

Mr. Fosdick does not, in this article, discuss the question whether the United States should join the League. He is a man of practical experience who doubtless understands full well that Americans must first be convinced. As long as a majority of American leaders are firmly opposed, American influence must be exerted for peace and order in the world without formal connection with the League. But Mr. Fosdick's article is a powerful answer to those who have been asserting that the League had broken down morally, in a controversy with

the strong-willed Mussolini. America may hold aloof from European politics, without failing to serve the ends of justice and harmony. Our readers will note that Mr. Simonds, in his analysis this month of European conditions, agrees with Mr. Fossdick that the League had been effective in convincing the Italian Government that there is such a thing as a world-opinion that must be respected. Meanwhile, America is doing nothing to discourage the cause of peace.

*Germany's
Plight*

Germany has seemed to everyone during recent weeks to be approaching some kind of crisis, with nobody able to foresee what would happen. Our readers will find the situation canvassed with great thoroughness in Mr. Simonds' monthly article, beginning on page 487. Disintegration seems altogether probable, with dictatorships in Bavaria and Saxony, and the organization of a separate Rhineland State. As to conditions at Berlin and throughout Prussia, Mr. Simonds believes that the drift is rapidly toward a recovery of power by the militarists in conjunction with the new magnates of industry. The collapse of Russia has been one of the most amazing occurrences in the course of recorded history; but the breakdown of Germany seems likely enough to offer a picture equally appalling. Mr. Simonds regards British efforts to save Germany as unavailing, and sees France holding the dominant place in a dark and discouraging hour. There is no escape from the hard logic of Mr. Simonds' presentation; but it is given to mankind to hope that things will somehow turn out well. Mr. Lloyd George has appealed to America to be helpful, and Senator Smoot has returned from Europe with the conviction that we must be ready to lend expert advice in fixing reparations.

*Wages and
Cost of
Living*

"Real wages," that is, wages measured in terms of the purchasing power of the dollar, are higher now than at any other time during the last ten years. In 1920, at the peak of inflation, wages were higher in terms of the depreciated dollar, but lower than at present in relation to the necessary and desirable things the dollar will buy. An investigation of the National Industrial Conference Board, recently reported, shows the cost of living about 62 per cent. above

the 1914 level, but wages larger than in 1914 by a substantially greater percentage. The report shows 953 wage increases and only 3 wage reductions during the six months from March to September of this year. Chauffeurs and teamsters increased their weekly wages by \$5, anthracite miners 10 per cent., clothing workers \$5 to \$10, iron and steel workers 10 per cent., street railway employees 20 per cent. and railroad workers 1 to 3 cents an hour.

*Rents
Continue
High*

While the general cost of living has come down 20.8 per cent. from the peak of 1920, the item of rent has fallen very slowly, being still 75 per cent. above the 1914 level. With plasterers receiving \$16 a day and other workers in the building trades paid in proportion, construction has not proceeded at a rate that promises soon to fill the deficiency of the war years. In fact there was an actual increase in rents last spring and summer. It is generally accepted that the correct proportion of rent cost in a family's total expenditure is 20 per cent., with 25 as the outside limit. In these days, however, many families are forced to pay as much as 40 per cent. of their income for their apartments or houses,—a serious encroachment on any comfortable standard of living, especially for the classes between the wage earners and the high-salaried groups.

*Wages
Absorbing
Profits*

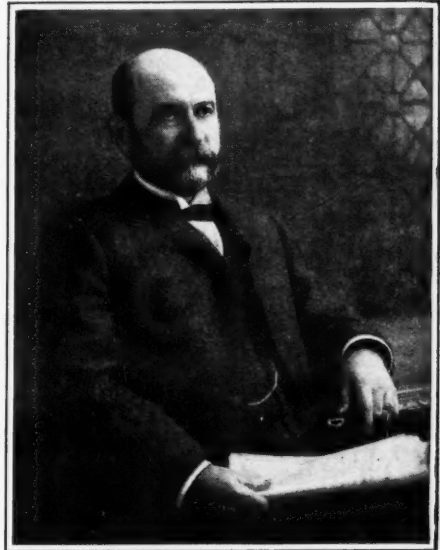
While production throughout the country is continuing at a very high rate, especially in the automobile trades, there is an increasing tendency for the wage-bill to absorb profits. This is particularly true in the steel and iron concerns. The recent settlement with the striking anthracite miners, giving them an increase of 10 per cent. in wages, is, apart from its present justice or expediency, a somewhat ominous precedent as one looks forward to next spring; and the new agreement that must be made then with the bituminous miners. The additional production costs will inevitably be added to the price paid by the consumer, and higher prices for soft coal would tend to raise the cost of living all along the line through their effect on the railroads' expenses, freight rates and industrial costs of operation generally. Just so much greater would be the disparity, already so marked, between the earnings of the factory worker and those of the farmer.

**Railroad
Wages**

The trainmen are preparing to demand a return to their wage level of 1920—reduced, in 1921, by 12 per cent. This will come just as agricultural interests in various parts of the country will be demanding reductions in the freight rates on farm products. It is not easy to be optimistic as to the fate of the railroads when one looks but a little below the surface of their present situation. They are, it is true, carrying more freight than ever before, each month setting new records. The business is being done, too, with an efficiency that has not been seen in our railroad plant for a great many years. If a shipper has business to be done, there are cars to carry his freight; they are produced promptly and the goods are delivered with certainty and in reasonable time. It might be said that the transportation plant of the country as a whole is running fairly close to 100 per cent., with just about as much business offered as can be comfortably handled.

**Are the Roads
Earning
Enough?**

Up to this point, the railroad outlook does, indeed, seem better than for a long time. Even going further, the statements of net revenue are reassuring compared to recent years. But these recent years were so desperately poor in their results that one must consider how the current earnings look as the best that can be done under nearly ideal operating conditions. The railroad plant is running practically full and cannot do more without a higher cost per transportation unit. With this in mind, the net operating income for August of 4.94 per cent. does not look large, but, on the contrary, very meager. For the first eight months of this year, the Class One railroads,—all the larger lines,—reported a net operating income of 5.40 per cent. on the valuation of their properties fixed, tentatively, by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Such an earning rate looks entirely insufficient for a time of record-breaking volume of traffic, no strike interruptions, no general wage increases or rate reductions. The point is that there will certainly be a smaller volume of traffic at times and other troubles are already threatening. Some impartial students feel that the net earnings under these most favorable conditions should be nearer 10 or 12 per cent. if the roads are to be regarded favorably by investors, whose funds they must have if the transportation plant is to be kept up.



DR. WILLIAM T. HORNADAY, DIRECTOR OF
THE NEW YORK ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY

**Mr. Rockefeller
Helps the
Naturalists**

In October it was announced that Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., had given to the New York Zoological Society \$1,000,000, half of the donation to be available at once and the other half when \$1,000,000 had been raised from other sources. The Society conducts the Zoological Park in the section of New York City known as the Bronx, visited each year by nearly 3,000,000 people, and the Aquarium. Under Dr. William T. Hornaday's zealous direction its educational work has been most admirable in bringing the millions of city dwellers into closer understanding of the wild life of America and to a correct attitude toward birds and beasts. It is good news that the Society's activities will now continue and be extended, without financial handicaps, by reason of the generosity of Mr. Rockefeller and others. It is much more than a local work that the Society, through Dr. Hornaday, is doing. Hundreds of thousands of visitors from other cities visit the Zoological Park, and quite apart from the splendid exhibits of live birds and animals, the Society has taken the lead in the conservation of bird and animal life throughout America on the numerous occasions when it has, through ignorance and commercial exploitation, been threatened.

*Working to
Preserve
Wild Life*

The small boy of to-day has a totally different attitude toward a nest of wild birds' eggs from that of the youngster of a generation or two ago, whose sole impulse was to rob it or destroy it. Not a little of this commendable change in our attitude toward wild life is due to the devoted efforts of men like Dr. Hornaday and Mr. Frank M. Chapman of the New York Museum of Natural History, where there are extraordinarily beautiful and accurate specimens of mounted birds and groups and families of birds posed in close approximations to their natural haunts. From Mr. Chapman's organization expeditions have gone to most of the out-of-the-way parts of the world—China, South America, Africa—to add to our knowledge and enjoyment of natural history. With the excellent work along the same lines done at Washington by the different departments of the Smithsonian Institution, notably in ethnological researches, and the efforts of the federal government to preserve in various national parks the elk, bison, antelope, beaver, and other threatened species of interesting wild animals and birds, there seems a fair chance that the generations to come will not be signally poorer in these charming out-of-door interests than we and our forebears have been.

*Two Game
Refuges
Threatened*

A proposal to establish a duck-shooting club of unprecedented size on the Gulf coast of Louisiana, very close to existing wild fowl sanctuaries, has aroused discussion in every part of America among sportsmen and other bird-lovers. The two game refuges purchased about ten years ago by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Russell Sage Foundation, respectively, embrace more than 160,000 acres of the choicest winter feeding and resting places for wild ducks, brant and geese. Probably no other single effort to give sanctuary to these valuable and interesting birds has been so important or successful. Wild birds and animals are governed in their movements and in their increase or decrease by two factors—security and food. Given these, game birds will always congregate and in-

crease. A few years ago it seemed to many observers doubtful whether America would continue much longer to have migrating wild fowl. The rapidly increasing number of shooters, the use of automatic and pump guns, and the demand for ducks from the markets promised to send them on the road taken by the bison and passenger pigeons.

*New Hope
for the
Wild Fowl*

Wise federal legislation, including, chiefly, the stoppage of the sale of game and the doing away with spring shooting, has in the past five years given new hope for the perpetuation of these species and of the glorious sport and delicious food they afford. A great help in this belated movement to save the wild fowl was the establishment of sanctuaries where the birds are never shot or destroyed in any way and of these, the great Louisiana marshes, teeming with ducks and geese, which the Rockefeller and Sage Foundations purchased and presented to the State, were, perhaps, the most notable and helpful. Now comes the plan for a shooting club of 4000 members, with \$1000 as the fee, and so close to the two great sanctuaries that Dr. Hornaday and other naturalists feel the benefit of the refuges would largely disappear, while the precedent of starting shooting operations on an enormous scale contiguous to State refuges would set back the whole bird conservation movement. The names of many very prominent and excellent sportsmen are listed among those interested in the new club and it is scarcely conceivable that when all the conditions are understood, the movement will proceed along lines that will point to the serious hurt of the sanctuaries. Governor Parker of Louisiana, an ardent sportsman and bird lover, too, can be relied on to do all in his power to save the sanctuaries from any vital harm. Dr. Wm. T. Hornaday, in aggressively opposing the club proposal, points out that with so long an open shooting season as Louisiana has, and with the generous daily bag limits, it would be theoretically possible for such a club to kill, with entire legality, something like 9,000,000 ducks, geese and brant, each season.



FIVE AMERICAN DESTROYERS ON THE ROCKS IN CALIFORNIA

(On September 8, seven United States destroyers ran on the rocks off Point Honda, north of Santa Barbara, Cal., and became total wrecks, with a loss of twenty-two lives. Six hundred men were saved, and the rest of the squadron veered off and put out to sea when ship commanders noticed the confusion ahead. The flotilla was twenty miles off course, and going at twenty knots in a fog, when confused radio signals from a shore station caused the squadron to change course direct for shore. A steamer had been wrecked near by only an hour previous to the disaster)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From September 15 to October 15, 1923)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 16.—President Coolidge thanks the American people in a proclamation for exceeding the \$5,000,000 Japanese relief fund subscription requested; the total to date is over \$8,000,000, of which \$1,086,400 is sent from the Pacific Coast States.

September 20.—Attorney-General Daugherty rules against the Lasker-Farley plan for sale of Government ships through subsidiary corporations, in an opinion to the President.

Governor Ritchie of Maryland is renominated to succeed himself by the Democratic State Convention; the Volstead act is criticized, and State enforcement legislation only is advocated.

September 23.—The Coal Commission submits a final report recommending governmental supervision of the coal industry through a division, to be created by Congress, of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

September 24.—President Coolidge delivers his first important address since taking office, at the convention of the American Red Cross; he says America left Europe after the World War "unencumbered by spoils, independent, unattached, and unbought"; and he expects the United States to play a leading part in exerting the new domination of moral force.

The Government sells the Gorgas steam plant at Muscle Shoals, Ala., to the Alabama Power Company for \$3,472,487.25; Henry Ford is notified to revise his bid of \$5,000,000 for the entire plant.

September 25.—In Oklahoma, the National Guard serves an order on all members of the legislature forbidding them to convene in a special session

called by a majority of the members; the State Constitution provides for a call to special session only by the Governor; the legislature apparently desires to institute impeachment proceedings.

September 26.—The Oklahoma legislature, gathering for a special session, is dispersed by State militia under orders of Governor J. C. Walton.

September 27.—Farm bloc members and constituents visit President Coolidge in an effort to reduce freight rates on wheat and flour, reestablish the U. S. Grain Corporation, and call a special session of Congress to aid the farmers.

The Maryland Republican Convention nominates for Governor the present Attorney-General, Alexander Armstrong.

Oklahoma legislators apply to the courts for an injunction against the militia restraining interference with meetings of the House.

September 29.—The Oklahoma Supreme Court denies Governor Walton a rehearing of his appeal from a decision of the Secretary of State sanctioning a vote on October 2 for an initiated bill permitting the legislature to convene itself.

October 1.—New York City real-estate assessment valuations are increased \$1,109,090,622 to a total of \$11,275,526,200; personal assessment is raised \$44,579,125 to a total of \$850,629,525.

October 2.—Oklahoma voters, at a special election, amend the Constitution to permit the legislature to convene of its own motion; armed vigilantes station themselves at the polls to insure against interference by Governor Walton's forces, and the election is orderly; the amendment carries, 6 to 1, with perhaps 250,000 majority against the Governor.

The President refuses to call a special session of



COUNT ALBERT APPONYI OF HUNGARY, WHO IS NOW ADDRESSING AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

(Count Apponyi, who is now in his seventy-eighth year, has been in public life more than half a century, and has stood for liberal and progressive measures and for European peace. He deplores the loss to Hungary of so much territory, but accepts facts and hopes that Hungary may be assisted with a loan perhaps after the plan of the recent loan to Austria. Accompanying the Count is his daughter)

Congress for the wheat farmers, but will renew the War Finance Corporation's activities, organizing wheat coöperatives to enlarge credit facilities in the West.

October 3.—Governor Walton procures an injunction restraining the Oklahoma election board from canvassing the votes in the recent election.

An election to fill a Philippine Senate vacancy, in the Manila district, results in a victory for the so-called anti-Wood candidate.

October 4.—The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York votes 101 to 69 to recommend modification of the Volstead act "to conform more nearly with the public sentiment and on lines that are more reasonable, just, and practicable."

October 6.—Governor Walton calls a special session of the Oklahoma legislature for October 11, to enact legislation curbing the Ku Klux Klan; the legislature is already convened by ballot for a special session on October 17, for the purpose of impeaching the Governor.

October 9.—In Vermont primaries, Porter M. Dale becomes Republican nominee for the United States Senate seat made vacant by the death of Senator Dillingham; Park H. Pollard is unopposed in the Democratic primary.

Governor Walton offers to resign immediately, providing his anti-Klan law is passed by the legislature.

October 11.—The Oklahoma legislature convenes in special session; Governor Walton's message denouncing the Klan is read, as he does not appear in person before the joint session.

Henry Ford, in a published statement, attacks Secretary of War Weeks for selling the Gorgas power plant and thus destroying the unity of the Muscle Shoals nitrate and power project.

Henry Ford's failure to withdraw his name from the Nebraska Progressive primary [April 15, 1924] ballot is interpreted as sanctioning his presidential boom.

October 14.—Governor Pinchot, speaking at Washington, D. C., before the Citizenship Conference, scores prohibition enforcement as honey-combed with rotten politics and says the President "is the only man who can bring together in harmonious, effective action all the necessary Government forces."

October 15.—The Oklahoma House tables a resolution for investigation as to Klan affiliations of its members by almost unanimous vote; committees have been appointed for thorough investigation of graft and inefficiency in every branch of the State Government.

Maine, in a special election, rejects a referendum for a forty-eight hour law for women and children in industry.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 16.—King Alfonso dissolves the Spanish parliament and creates the Marquis de Estella (Captain-General Primo Rivera, leader of the military uprising) President of the Military Directorate and sole chief of the administration; a national militia is being organized along the lines of the Fascisti in Italy, called Somatén (see page 500).

The Japanese earthquake losses are estimated at \$932,500,000, or 2 per cent. of the wealth of Japan.

September 17.—The Cuban Senate finance committee unanimously modifies the Tarafa bill, removing from the House measure (passed August 9) the monopolistic provisions regarding railroads and private ports.

September 19.—In Bulgaria, peasants and Communists revolt against the Zankoff government which recently overthrew Stamboliisky; the towns of Plodiv, Karlova, and Kazanlik are placed under martial law.

The Irish Dail opens at Dublin and unanimously reflects President Cosgrave; the Farmer party raises the question of release of prisoners.

September 20.—President Cosgrave of the Irish Free State gives up the Ministry of Finance and appoints Ernest Blythe; Kevin O'Higgins retains the Ministry of Home Affairs, Richard Mulcahy that of Defense, Prof. John MacNeill Education, and Desmond Fitzgerald Foreign Affairs.

September 21.—Jury trials are abolished in Spain by royal decree.

September 22.—Martial law is proclaimed throughout all Bulgaria in an effort to crush the peasant revolution.

The Tarafa bill, as amended, is passed by the Cuban Senate.

September 28.—After a battle between Bulgarian Communists and government troops at Ferdinandovo, the peasant revolt comes to an end.

September 29.—In Mexico, Luis Marones, leading Communist, is dismissed as First Chief of Military Factories; other radicals are also removed by President Obregon.

October 3.—The recently elected Irish Free State

parliament is opened at Dublin, with Governor-General Healy outlining an extensive program.

October 5.—Marshal Tsao Kun, head of the northern militarists, is elected President of China by the Peking parliament; he is sixty years old and rose from the ranks.

October 6.—Turkish troops assume control of Constantinople for the first time in four years.

October 7.—Queensland, Australia, votes to stay "wet"; reports show 169,530 votes to continue the license system; 108,468 favor prohibition, and 12,690 vote for state management.

October 9.—President Zayas, of Cuba, signs the Tarafa port and railroad bill which was protested by American sugar companies before it went to the Cuban Senate, where it was modified.

October 11.—Tsao Kun is sworn in as President of China and the national Constitution, twelve years in preparation, is promulgated; it provides that provincial armies must be abolished and replaced by a national army whose expenditures shall not amount to more than one-fourth the national revenue except in case of foreign war. . . . Dr. Sun Yat-sen, at Shanghai, issues a warning to foreign governments not to recognize Tsao Kun, who he says will further disrupt China.

October 14.—Angora is designated as the permanent capital of Turkey by the National Assembly.

October 15.—President Tsao Kun dismisses the Military Governor of Shantung and three officials whose punishment was demanded by foreign diplomats; China agrees in principle to demands for damages for bandit outrages.

King Ferdinand opens the Rumanian parliament at Bucharest.

The Cuban Senate confirms the nomination of Dr. Cosme de la Torriente as the first Cuban Ambassador to the United States.

THE SITUATION IN THE RUHR

September 16.—At Aix-la-Chapelle, 12,000 persons hold a demonstration for establishment of a Rhineland Republic, freed from Prussian domination.

September 19.—Chancellor Stresemann admits to railway, postal, and other Reich officials that: "The situation is very dark. One can say that the Ruhr war is a second lost war."

Premiers Poincaré and Baldwin confer at Paris, and it is reported that France will not exclude England from parleys following German abandonment of passive resistance.

September 23.—The German Cabinet meets to decide upon the formula for ending passive resistance.

September 24.—Chancellor Stresemann states his Ruhr policy to a gathering of coalition leaders in the Reichstag, industrial and labor leaders, and municipal officials; passive resistance is to be abandoned immediately and unconditionally.

September 25.—Chancellor Stresemann asks the presidents of all the federated states of Germany to endorse his Ruhr program; they agree unanimously.

September 26.—President Ebert and Chancellor Stresemann formally proclaim the end of passive resistance in the Ruhr; during the French occupation, 180,000 persons were deported and over 100 were killed.

Martial law is proclaimed throughout Germany by President Ebert, owing to Bavarian revolt re-



TSAO KUN, NEW PRESIDENT OF CHINA

(Who was elected on October 5 by the Peking parliament after the republic had been without either an executive or a cabinet for three months. He is a northern military leader, sixty years of age, who began his career as a common soldier thirty-five years ago. President Tsao expects to suppress banditry, secure harmony among the provinces, and reduce military and administrative expenditures under the new constitution which was promulgated coincident with his inauguration on October 11. He is the sixth President of the Chinese Republic)

ports and separatist activity in the Rhineland; Dr. von Kahr is appointed General Commissioner for Bavaria.

September 27.—The Bavarian Premier, von Knilling, forbids fourteen mass meetings of Adolf Hitler's Fascisti.

September 30.—Riots at Düsseldorf, involving Rhineland separatists and German security police, result in a score of deaths and hundreds of other casualties before French troops stop the disorder; in Munich, Nationalists hold demonstrations for Crown Prince Rupprecht.

October 3.—The German Premier, Stresemann, resigns after the Social Democrats vote to withdraw from the coalition; the Socialists had refused to agree to the abandonment of the eight-hour day.

October 5.—The Reparation Commission issues revised figures showing total payments by Germany of 8,213,670,000 gold marks as of June 30; 1,900,000,000 is credited as cash and 3,250,000,000 as merchandise, the rest being in shipping, cables, and credits for Sarre Valley and other ceded territory.

General Ludendorff removes Adolf Hitler as head of the Bavarian Fascisti, supplanting him with his adjutant, Colonel Riebel; Hitler had been outmaneuvered by von Kahr, who was appointed Dictator of Bavaria under martial law and who is said to represent former Crown Prince Rupprecht.

October 6.—Chancellor Stresemann presents a new Coalition Cabinet, but fails to obtain a vote of confidence; it is reported he has broken with Hugo

Stinnes, who is in the Rhineland, conferring with General Degoutte.

October 8.—The Reichstag, overcoming the opposition of the German Nationalists, Bavarian People's Party, and the Communists, votes confidence in Stresemann's new cabinet; a resolution is rejected which recommends cessation of martial law.

October 9.—Germany asks France and Belgium if they are ready to enter negotiations for resumption of work in the Ruhr; Belgium says Germany must prove good will by paying her industrialists for coal deliveries and advising railroad men to work; France says negotiations are unnecessary, and that the Ruhr should resume industry.

October 12.—German miners' unions sign an agreement with the French to resume work.

October 13.—Gustav Stresemann is made dictator of Germany by the Reichstag, which after first failing to attain a quorum, votes 316 to 24 to confer through constitutional amendment "extraordinary powers" on the Stresemann Government.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 15.—The city of Karagatch is turned over to the Turks by Greece under the Lausanne treaty.

September 16.—The Government of the Independent State of Fiume resigns and Premier Mussolini appoints General Giardino as Military Governor.

Jugoslavia notifies Bulgaria that if Comitadjis bands forming near the boundary should cross into Jugoslavia, it will be considered a *casus belli*.

September 17.—Bulgaria assures Jugoslavia that no Comitadjis will cross the border.

September 19.—Great Britain replies formally to the American prohibition note suggesting search and seizure within a twelve-mile limit; the reply is negative, but an offer is made to take up the question at the Imperial Conference early in October.

Jugoslavia cancels her agreement with the Stamboliisky Government (now deposed) in Bulgaria, under which each country was to patrol its own border; Jugoslavia now reserves the right to pursue Macedonian bandits, or Comitadjis, into Bulgaria.

September 20.—The League Opium Commission plans to hold two conferences—one of Far Eastern countries, the other general—for limiting production of opium and the coca leaf.

Japan decommissions nine battleships, in accordance with the Washington naval disarmament treaty.

September 22.—The League Council at Geneva appoints a committee to secure juridical interpretations of the Covenant. . . . The report of a financial committee is accepted and the Free City of Danzig is to have a gold currency under control of the League based on the gulden, worth one-twenty-fifth of a pound sterling.

September 25.—Persia prevents amendment of Article X of the League of Nations Covenant, being the only nation of the Assembly at Geneva to vote in the negative; amendment requires a unanimous vote; twenty-nine nations vote favorably and thirteen do not cast a ballot.

September 26.—The Council of Ambassadors decides that Italy must withdraw from the Greek island of Corfu; Italy is awarded the 50,000,000 lire deposited by Greece, because the Athens Govern-

ment is adjudged not sufficiently diligent in apprehending the murderers of the Janina mission.

September 27.—Italy evacuates Corfu, amid reciprocal salutes by Greek and Italian warships.

The League Council decides to submit certain questions on construction of the Covenant to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

September 28.—Signor Salandra, for Italy, signs a statement in the Council of the League of Nations agreeing that "any dispute between members of the League likely to lead to a rupture is within the sphere of action of the League."

September 29.—The League ends its fourth assembly at Geneva; the Assembly approves the Treaty of Guarantees and Czechoslovakia is elected to the Council in place of China.

Mexico is reported to have broken off diplomatic relations with Venezuela because of her refusal to recognize diplomatic rights of Mexican representatives.

September 30.—China threatens to withdraw from the League of Nations.

October 1.—The Imperial Conference at London is opened with premiers and other delegates present from all the British Dominions.

October 2.—All Allied troops evacuate Constantinople and other Turkish regions, under the Lausanne treaty; Constantinople is in command of General Sela Heddin Pasha.

October 3.—Bulgaria pays to the Reparation Commission the first semi-annual instalment of 2,500,000 gold francs under the agreement of last spring.

October 4.—The Peking diplomatic corps calls China to task for lack of zeal in suppressing banditry, in a note replying to China's offer to compensate kidnapped foreigners for their loss of time, inconvenience, and privations.

Russia demands an investigation of the assassination of two members of the Karelian frontier commission, in a sharp note to Finland, which demands a deposit of 1,500,000 gold marks as a guarantee for compensation.

October 9.—At the British Imperial Conference, Premier Stanley M. Bruce of Australia advocates a preferential tariff on foodstuffs and raw materials from the dominions to Great Britain; Premier Mackenzie King of Canada is reported to have raised a question whether the dominions should be automatically involved in every British quarrel.

October 15.—The International Customs Conference is opened at Geneva with thirty nations represented, including Germany.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 17.—Fire destroys thirty-five blocks in the residential district of Berkeley, Calif.; two persons are killed and \$8,000,000 of property is destroyed, leaving 15,000 persons homeless.

A sudden strike of web pressmen in New York City, declared illegal by the president of the international union, leaves the metropolis without newspapers for twenty-four hours, until eleven publishers combine in issuing a joint newspaper of small size to meet strike conditions.

September 19.—Anthracite coal miners return to work after losing \$13,500,000 in wages; the 150,000 men would have produced 5,400,000 tons of coal if they had worked; a new two-year contract is signed at Governor Pinchot's home.

September 20.—The Bureau of Standards is nearly wrecked by an explosion while testing a new airplane motor.

Prof. Charles L. Burckhalter, director of the Chabot Observatory at Oakland, Calif., dies from the exertion of saving the observatory from a forest fire.

Count Albert Apponyi, former Premier of Hungary, leaves Budapest for a lecture tour in the United States.

September 21.—New York City newspapers sign a contract with the International Pressmen's Union for settlement of disagreements by peaceful means; hours are shortened, thus increasing the hourly wage; the local union which walked out while negotiations were in progress is dissolved.

The New Jersey trolley strike lasting nearly two months comes to an end when a 20 per cent. increase in wages is granted.

September 22.—The airship *ZR-1* sails from Lakehurst, N. J., to Washington, D. C., in fog and rain, making a perfect flight; ballast is taken on in midair by condensing moisture in the atmosphere with the calcium chloride process.

George L. Berry, president of the International Printing Pressmen's Union, summons local unions throughout the country to send volunteers to man the newspaper presses of New York City, "in order to uphold the integrity of our organization internationally . . . and to accord simple justice to the public."

September 23.—The Gordon Bennett balloon race at Brussels has a bad start in squally weather; only thirteen of the seventeen entries are able to get off; five men are killed and five balloons are wrecked.

At Pendleton, Ore., Yakima Canutt wins the world's championship bucking contest, and receives \$750 in cash, a \$400 saddle, and possession of the Roosevelt trophy as the best all-round cowboy.

September 25.—The third Asiatic expedition of The American Museum of Natural History announces the acquisition of twenty-five dinosaur eggs from a fossil bed in Mongolia, the first ever known to have been discovered; their age is estimated at ten million years; they are about six inches long, elliptical, the shells covered with a buff-colored coating.

The executive council of the American Bankers Association approves a report recommending changes in the Federal Reserve act to remove the reserve system from politics.

September 28.—At Cowes, Isle of Wight, England, a United States Navy seaplane piloted by Lieut. David Rittenhouse wins the Schneider Cup from its English holder, attaining a speed of 177.38 miles per hour.

September 26.—Tornadoes sweep over Iowa, Nebraska, and Wyoming, killing nineteen persons and destroying \$1,000,000 of property.

September 30.—The French dirigible *Dixmude* breaks all records for distance by flying 4,500 miles in 118 hours and 41 minutes, without stop, over the Mediterranean, Algeria, Tunisia, and parts of the Sahara Desert.

October 3.—The *ZR-1* completes a flight from Lakehurst, N. J., to St. Louis, Mo., and return, covering 2,200 miles in forty-six hours flying time.

October 5.—The War Premier of England, David Lloyd George, arrives at New York on a first visit to Canada and the United States.

October 8.—The American Federation of Labor expels a Communist named Dunne from its convention at Portland, Ore., voting 27,838 to 130.

October 10.—John D. Rockefeller, Jr., gives \$1,000,000 to the New York Zoological Society.

The Navy's dirigible airship *ZR-1* is renamed the *Shenandoah*.

October 14.—The New York Yankees defeat the New York Giants in the sixth game of the World Series and become champions in baseball.

OBITUARY

September 16.—Robert M. Donaldson, publisher, 75. . . . Dr. Charles Frederick Millsbaugh, noted botanist, 69. . . . Dr. Frederick Randolph Bailey, medical textbook writer, 52.

September 18.—Jacob L. Loose, cracker manufacturer. . . . Paul J. Rainey, big game hunter and motion-picture photographer, 46.

September 19.—William Malcolm Bunn, journalist and former Territorial Governor of Idaho, 81. . . . Max Bohm, a foremost mural painter, 55. . . . William G. Willcox, of New York, educationist, 64.

September 22.—James Gray Lathrop, well known college athletic director, 70.

September 23.—Viscount John Morley of Blackburn, noted British statesman and journalist, 84.

September 24.—Father John Talbot Smith, who founded the Catholic Actors Guild, 68. . . . Chief Justice Calvin Luther Brown, of the Minnesota Supreme Court, 69.

September 26.—Allen-Boyd Forbes, New York financier, 57. . . . George Henry Yewell, artist, 93. . . . Dr. Edward W. Buckley, of St. Paul, Minn., supreme physician of the Knights of Columbus, 63. . . . William Brooks Close, English colonist who helped land settlement in our Western States, 70.

October 1.—J. Edgar Bull, New York patent attorney, 66.

October 4.—Dr. Estanislao Severo Zeballos, Argentine statesman and jurist, 69. . . . Pierre Mali, Belgian Consul General at New York City, 67.

October 6.—Oscar Browning, English historian and educator, 86.

October 7.—Dr. Hugh Hamilton, physician and author, of Harrisburg, Pa., 76.

October 8.—Frederick Robert Kaldenberg, sculptor, 63.

October 9.—Ralph Peters, president of the Long Island Railroad, 69.

October 10.—General Andres Avelino Caceres, twice President of Peru, 87.

October 11.—Edward Stanwood, of Brookline, Mass., editor and historian, 82.

October 12.—Manton B. Metcalf, woolen manufacturer, 59. . . . Diego Manuel Chamorro, President of Nicaragua, 62.

October 13.—Aretas Brooks Fleming, Governor of West Virginia, 1890-1893, 84.

October 15.—David B. Ogden, New York real property law expert, 74. . . . Edgar W. Houser, of Syracuse, N. Y., manufacturer and Civil War veteran, 81. . . . Charles Edward Mann, of Malden, Mass., railway commissioner and writer.

THE STORY OF THE MONTH IN CARTOONS



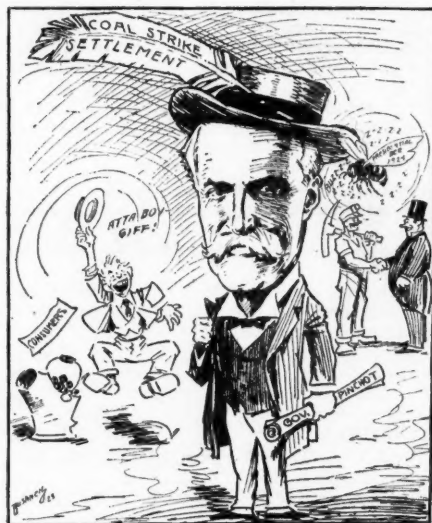
THE FIGHT FOR THE WATER HOLE

From the Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia, Pa.)



THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA IS FOUND
FLIRTING WITH CAL COOLIDGE'S GIRL

From the Ledger (Tacoma, Wash.)



THE FEATHER GIVES HIM A 1924 AIR

From the Leader (Pittsburgh, Pa.)



THE SITUATION AT THE WHITE HOUSE

From the Courier-Journal (Louisville, Ky.)

THE past month has witnessed events which have been widely interpreted as announcing two presidential candidacies. One of these was Mr. Ford's public criticism of the Secretary of War, in his Muscle Shoals policy. The other was Governor Pinchot's challenge to the federal authorities, to enforce the prohibition amendment.



IS THE HIRAM JOHNSON BOOM ANOTHER CALIFORNIA WRECK?

From the Ledger (Tacoma, Wash.)



CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW CHAUFFEUR

From Forbes (New York)



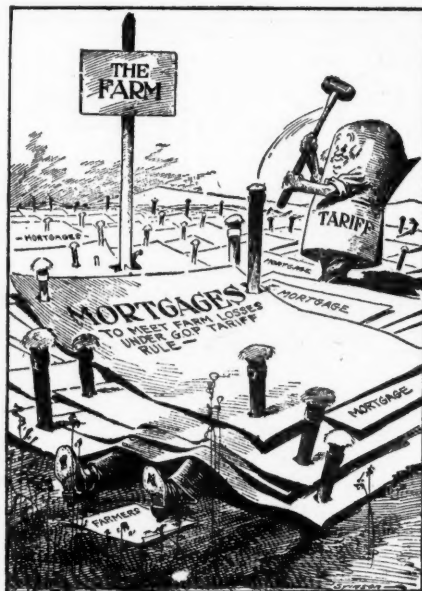
CALVIN THINKS MORE ABOUT HIS PROBLEMS THAN WATCHING THE POLITICAL POT BOIL

From the Oregonian (Portland, Ore.)



IS IT MUCH WONDER COOLIDGE IS SILENT?

By Thomas, in the News (Detroit, Mich.)

**HARVEST TIME**From the *Democrat & Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)**COVERING IT**From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

[Two views of the effect of the new Republican tariff]

That the tariff may continue to be a leading issue in presidential politics is evident from the two cartoons reproduced above—one of which typifies contentment and prosperity, while the other intimates that the principal farm crop of the past

season has been mortgages. The election of the Farmer-Labor candidate for Senator in Minnesota, recently, is a sign of the times. Mr. Ford's chief hope for success, as a presidential candidate, probably lies in his popularity among the farmers.

**THE COAL PROFITEER'S "EXTORTION" SEED AND THE HARVEST**From the *News* (Baltimore, Md.)**THE NEW CRUSADER**From the *Kansas Farmer and Mail & Breeze* (Topeka, Kansas)



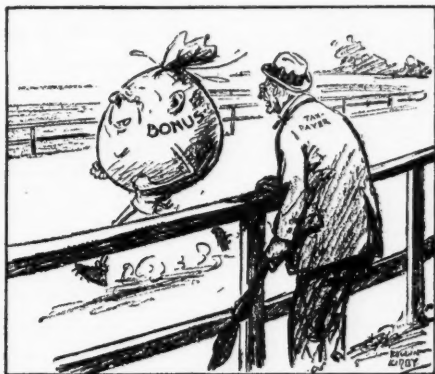
LOOK BEHIND YOU, UNCLE SAM
From the *Ledger* (Tacoma, Wash.)



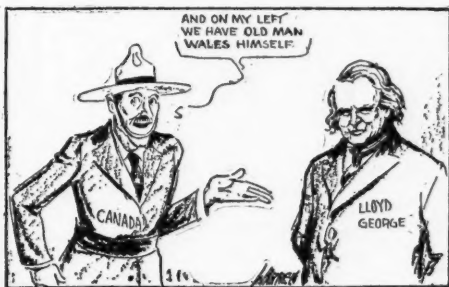
WHY OKLAHOMA CHANGED ITS MIND
From the *News* (Cleveland, Ohio)



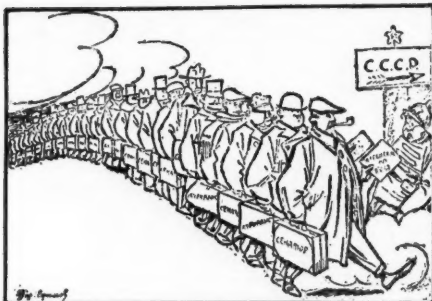
TALKING ABOUT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
[One League that would make the scrappy nations behave]
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)



IN TRAINING AGAIN
From the *World* (New York)



THE WELSH INVASION OF CANADA
From the *News* (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE AMERICAN INVASION OF RUSSIA

(Senators and journalists and more Senators trooping into Soviet Russia, showing passes permitting them to go anywhere, to the dismay of the frontier guard)

From *Izvestia* (Moscow, Russia)



THE GREAT SURRENDER

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)



VICTORY!

From the *Star* (London, England)



THE STRONG STRESEMANN

("Will he manage to control the Bolshevist menace?")

From *Lustige Blaetter* (Berlin, Germany)

[The gentleman on the floor represents the former Chancellor, Cuno, recently resigned]



INTERALLIED DEBTS

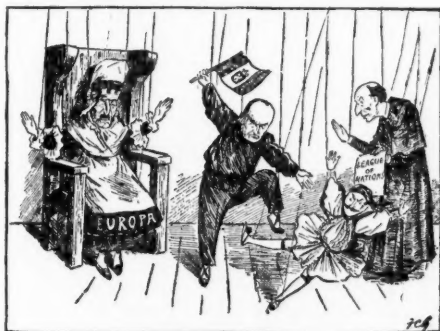
JOHN BULL AND UNCLE SAM: "You have spoken so clearly about the duty of a nation being to pay its debts, that we venture to present our bill!"
POINCARÉ: "Ah, I was speaking about Germany, not France!"

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)



"YOU'VE BEEN IN THE LIMELIGHT TOO LONG.
GIVE ANOTHER FELLOW A CHANCE!"

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)



THE MARIONETTES

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



DOES MUSSOLINI SEEK A PEDESTAL AMONG
THOSE IN THE BACKGROUND?

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)



"HALF A LEAGUE ONWARD!"

LEAGUE OF NATIONS: "I say, Sir: You—hum—you really
mustn't go careering about the place like this! I shall have to—
er—ahem! be very cross with you presently, and perhaps say
something rather pointed!"

From the *Bystander* (London, England)



THE NEW ROMAN EMPEROR

MARIANNE: "Another of the people who thought I was
going too strong!"

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



THE STRONG MEN OF ITALY AND SPAIN

[Note Mussolini's dog] "Victor," and General Rivera's dog "Alfonso"]

From *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



WHAT REVOLUTIONS HAVE COME TO

[The bloodless revolution in Spain was accomplished over the telephone]

REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL: "We are thinking of having a revolution this morning, sire—may we use your telephone?"
KING ALFONSO: "Certainly, my dear old sport."

From *Opinion* (London, England)



AN APPEAL TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

JOHN BULL (forgetting that he holds Egypt, Malta, India and Ireland in subjection): "We protest against violation of the rights of nations!"

MUSSOLINI: "It's no use. I won't raise my foot until Greece has changed its front!"

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



MODERN KINGSHIP IN SPAIN

From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



"LEAGUE OF NATIONS? HAVE YOU SHOWN YOUR FAITH IN IT?"

From *Quotidien* (Paris, France)

MUSSOLINI AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

[Mr. Fosdick, of New York, who contributes the present article upon the League of Nations, has recently returned from Geneva, where he was present during the discussion of the Corfu affair, and in close touch with everything relating to the League and its work. Mr. Fosdick has held many public positions, and during 1919-20 he was resident at Geneva as Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations.—THE EDITOR]

THE Corfu incident is closed. The Italian garrison has been withdrawn and Italian guns no longer threaten the peace and safety of the sleepy island. With a salute to the Greek flag, Mussolini's Navy steamed out of the harbor, leaving behind only the memory of an occupation that lasted less than four weeks.

And yet this relatively unimportant episode—this incident that our children will probably never read of in their histories—marked a grave crisis in the world, a crisis which might easily have affected the course of events for years to come. Future generations will recall the ghastly significance of Serajevo in 1914, not because it was important in itself, but because out of it grew the greatest tragedy in human history. Corfu brought with it no ugly train of consequence, but for nearly a month it flamed with ominous possibilities.

For Mussolini's ultimatum to Greece, both in form and phraseology, was startlingly akin to that other ultimatum with which Austria sounded the doom of the existing order in 1914. It made demands which no self-respecting nation could accept; it spoke in the name of brute force; it was an appeal to the power of violence. And Mussolini meant business. His was no empty gesture. When he told the representatives of the press that "next week the price would be higher" he meant precisely what he said. The seizure of the small islands adjacent to Corfu was calculatingly significant. When Salandra, the Italian delegate in Geneva, stated that Corfu had been formerly a Venetian possession during four centuries, the threat of his historically accurate but singularly ill-timed observation was not wasted—nor was it intended to be.

Mussolini meant business. He was especially in earnest when he pounded the marble top of his office table in Rome and declared that no affair affecting the honor and dignity of Italy was of any concern to the League of Nations. This was a matter between Italy and Greece and he resented interference. Austria in July, 1914, was no more inexorable than Mussolini. Greece would obey to the last letter of the alphabet the seven points of his ultimatum or she would take the consequences. There was no middle ground, no way of escape, and if the League attempted to inject itself into the situation, Italy would withdraw from membership. It was a reincarnated Napoleon who trod the stage in Rome in the early days of September.

Three Weeks Later

But three weeks later, when the Italian fleet abandoned Corfu, all that remained of Napoleon was the pose. There was scarcely one of the seven points of the ultimatum that had not been materially modified. Instead of Greece presenting official apologies to the Italian Government alone, she presented them jointly to Great Britain, France and Italy. Instead of a salute to the Italian Navy by Greek ships with the Italian colors flying at their mainmasts, it was given to the navies of the three Allied powers, and was promptly returned. Instead of an inquiry as to the authors of the murders conducted by Greece in the presence of an Italian officer, the inquiry was made by a joint commission presided over by a Japanese and consisting of an Italian, a Frenchman and an Englishman. Instead of a payment by Greece within five days of an indemnity of 50,000,000 lire, together

with the costs of the Corfu occupation, the indemnity was paid four weeks later, on September 26, the day before the abandonment of Corfu, and Italy's claim for a further sum to cover the cost of occupation was dropped. Finally, instead of Greece having to promise in advance the imposition of the death penalty upon all perpetrators of the crime, the point was waived altogether, and Greece was allowed to proceed with the case in accordance with the provisions of her own criminal law.

Not only were the terms of Mussolini's ultimatum set aside, but it was accomplished through the identical method to which Mussolini had expressed such violent opposition. This was an affair that concerned Italy and Greece alone, he had said; it was not open to international debate, and particularly it was not the business of the League of Nations. And yet, day after day, Mussolini's representative in Geneva, Signor Salandra, sat in the meetings of the Council of the League, debating, explaining and conceding. At the meeting on September first, he rose merely to state that the matter was not within the competence of the League. On September 4 he was elaborating and defending the point in considerable detail. On the fifth he was protesting that the occupation of Corfu was only temporary and that Italy intended to make provision for the families of the victims of the bombardment. On the sixth, with the perspiration rolling down his face, he was indulging in a passionate defense of his own country as "the center of art" and "the home of sunshine and beauty." As late as September 17 he was arguing all sides of the matter with M. Politis, the representative of Greece, who sat across the table at the meetings of the Council. In spite of Mussolini's belligerent insistence that the affair was not within the competence of the League, his representative sat for nearly three weeks through session after session of the League's Council, discussing the situation from every angle. And in the end, Salandra joined with his colleagues on the Council in approving the new conditions of the withdrawal.

The Force of Public Opinion

A conversion like this needs explanation. What happened at Rome and Geneva? Why did Mussolini climb down to a more reasonable position? What sort of pressure

was exerted to turn a policy of violence into a policy of peace?

The answer to this question furnishes the significant point to this whole Corfu dispute. The League of Nations has harnessed up a new force in the government of the world's affairs—the force of international public opinion. We have never known hitherto what it could do. There has been no way by which it could be concentrated and directed. There has been no machinery by which it could be focussed upon a particular situation, no method by which it could be brought into play to effect the settlement of an outstanding difficulty.

But at Geneva the representatives of fifty nations united in a judgment which had behind it the force of almost the entire civilized world. From the day when he first rose to challenge the competence of the League, Salandra was facing the public opinion of mankind, speaking through an instrument that gave it coherency and volume. The conscience of the world was aroused, and the League was the trumpet through which the words of condemnation were cried abroad. Before he had been in Geneva two days Salandra knew that Italy was morally isolated and that at the bar of civilization his country stood condemned. At the first meeting of the Assembly on September 3, of all the vice-presidents and other honorary officers that were elected, not one was an Italian. It was a vote of protest. It meant that the gauntlet had been thrown down. It spoke the belief of fifty nations that this open proclamation of violence, if unchallenged, would smash the frail structure of the world's peace and proclaim to the whole earth that brute force was once more unleashed.

But it was not only in this indirect fashion that the world's condemnation was focussed upon Mussolini. At the meeting of the Council on September 6, a chorus of indignation went round the table. The diplomatic phraseology in which it was cloaked did not conceal the fire. Hymans spoke for Belgium, Branting for Sweden, Cecil for Great Britain and Guani for Uruguay. Their remarks were aimed directly at Salandra across the table. And down the street in the Assembly the representatives of twoscore other nations were waiting the chance to add their words of censure. Not even a Mussolini could easily withstand the weight of such an indictment in that presence.

This is the chief significance of the Corfu incident. It dramatized in vivid fashion one of the possibilities of the League of Nations. It brought suddenly into the light the mark of the new order. Suppose the Italian ultimatum had been launched a dozen years ago. What possible concern would it have been then to Sweden or Belgium or Uruguay? What right would these governments have had to protest or what interest would have prompted them even to express an opinion? How could such a disapproving opinion have been expressed without endangering diplomatic relations? Indeed, under the old order, these nations would have been well satisfied and certainly well advised to keep their indignation to themselves, thankful that the aggressor was far away and that his violence was aimed at another victim. So our early ancestors, in the cruel days before community law was born, must have barred their doors and thanked their gods that the robbers who with fire and sword were plundering their neighbors had not chosen to plunder them. Ten years ago, therefore, Greece would have been left to the mercy of Italy, and the situation would necessarily have led to one of two results: war or the surrender of the weaker country.

But with the League in existence a different principle is at work. What Italy does to Greece is now the legitimate concern of Uruguay and Sweden and even of far-away countries like China and Japan. The whole scope of law has been widened. Conceptions of order and justice have pushed out beyond their old boundaries. No act of aggression such as Italy commenced can now be carried through without challenge. A new sensitiveness to international unfairness has been stirred, harnessed to machinery that can give it voice. Fifty nations, representing seven-eighths of the population of the world, stand up in the Assembly of the League to tell Italy that she is acting against the conscience of mankind. No other form of coercion is employed. The economic weapons in the armory of the League remain untouched. But Italy becomes suddenly amenable. Certain face-saving gestures are made; the Council of Ambassadors is put forward as the ostensible instrument for achieving the settlement; but a solution is found which, while not entirely satisfactory, nevertheless comports with the pride of a great country and the claims to justice of a smaller one.

It may not always be possible for the League to avoid the use of sterner measures in the enforcement of the collective conscience of the world. It is conceivable that the economic boycott, for example, may some day be called into play. But in this new instrument of public opinion—this new method of harnessing the moral judgment of fifty nations—the League has a weapon of infinite usefulness.

The "Intervention" of Small Nations

No more eloquent tribute was paid to the effectiveness of this weapon than came from the lips of Mussolini himself. Three days after Corfu was abandoned, with the Italian Navy once more riding in its own waters, he gave an interview to a special correspondent of a Paris paper in which he made the following naïve comment: "The League," he said, "has the inadmissible defect that it permits small nations to intervene, discuss and regulate the affairs of great powers." Exactly so! The disillusioned Mussolini had run up against a new force that he did not understand. It baffled and angered him. He had not realized that the day of aggression is drawing to a close; he had not appreciated that the time is nearly over when a big nation can throttle a little one without challenge. He forgot that this was 1923 and not 1913, and that there had recently come into the world a new technique for handling international difficulties. With similar anger the strong men of old must have resented that new thing called law, that gave the weak men a chance.

But it was not only in words that Mussolini acknowledged the power of the public opinion which the League had marshalled. It is significant that the Italian Government—perhaps in response to Nansen's eloquent denunciation in the Assembly—remitted to Greece one-tenth of the 50,000,000 lire indemnity, to be applied to the feeding of Greek refugees. Even more significant is the fact that immediately after the settlement, the Serbians decided to register with the League of Nations the Treaty of Rapallo, defining the boundaries of Fiume, although Italy had given private notice that such a step would be regarded as a hostile act. Hearing of this decision, Salandra, on behalf of Italy, asked for three days' delay, so that the Italians might register the treaty at the same time. Mussolini has learned caution from his contact with the League machinery.

The League as Arbitrator

Not only does the League create the pressure for peace and provide the atmosphere in which international difficulties can be more easily adjusted, but it has at hand the machinery for effecting the settlement. It is at this point that some misunderstanding has occurred as to the Greco-Italian affair, particularly with relation to the part in the final settlement played by the Council of Ambassadors. People have imagined that the League possessed, or claimed, a right to impose itself as arbitrator in all disputes. But this is not the fact. The only right which the League has asserted, or can assert under the Covenant, is the right and duty to see that members of the League submit their disputes to some form of arbitration or peaceful settlement. What form the arbitration or settlement is to take, the Covenant does not specify. It is concerned solely with the peaceful liquidation of disputes, with the substitution of conciliation, consultation and conference for the old argument of force.

In his speech before the Council of the League on September 17, Lord Robert Cecil illuminated the point in the following admirable words:

It may be well to assert once again what most of us who have studied the League have constantly pointed out, that its function is not to impose any particular settlement in a dispute. Its object is to promote agreement between disputants, to bring them together, to enable them to understand one another's point of view and to arrive at a settlement. That is what we are directed to do in the clearest terms by the Covenant. The League is not a super-state; it is much more nearly a forum for the discussion of international problems and the promotion of agreement with regard to them. It is only in the last resort, if no agreement can be reached, whether by arbitration, whether by diplomatic negotiation, whether by any other means, that the Council is to proceed to its next step. The object of the Covenant is to promote peaceful settlement, and not to promote the victory of one side or the other, or even a victory of the League over both.

Precisely this technique was applied to the Greco-Italian difficulty. For nearly three weeks Salandra sat at the council table talking with Politis, the representative of Greece. There were proposals and counter-proposals which were discussed back and forth from day to day. Propositions were advanced only to be condemned and withdrawn. Tentative suggestions were put forward to explore possible avenues of progress. The matter was handled precisely as the arbitration of an industrial

dispute would be worked out, each side making its demands and its concessions. Finally Quinones de Leon, the Spanish representative, advanced a proposal which, with modifications, became the basis of the settlement. In order to afford Mussolini a graceful method of exit, the Council of Ambassadors was projected into the scene to submit the proposal to the parties concerned and put it into effect. Any agency or influence, private or public, that can promote the world's peace is grist for the League's mill. "The purpose of the League," says Lord Robert Cecil, "is to effect the settlement of disputes. To accomplish this result we will travel any road that leads toward the goal."

That is what the League is. It is a way of doing business. It is a means of getting people together. It is a parliament of persuasion. It is an agency for conference and consultation. It is a machinery to promote consent. It is a method of international life.

Serajevo and Corfu

As one reviews the details of this Greco-Italian difficulty, the contrast between Corfu and Serajevo rises before the mind, and one's memory jumps back to the tragic days of July, 1914, when another ultimatum brought the world to the edge of the abyss. There was then no machinery of arbitration, no regular method of conference. The inchoate panel of judges at The Hague was all that the ingenuity and good-will of mankind had been able to create to avoid international disaster. In vain Serbia tried to get her case considered by some tribunal of the nations, but there was none, and in that pitch of flame and heat nothing could be devised. In vain Sir Edward Grey fought for a conference, using the whole power of the British Empire to get the disputants around a table. But it was too late; there were not sufficient precedents for such a step; no rules for such procedure had ever been laid down. The catastrophe in which twelve million men were sacrificed, and millions more were crippled and maimed, began without a single conference. A handful of hasty, misunderstood telegrams plunged the world over the brink, with consequences so terrible that no one even yet can appraise them.

In 1923, nine years later, another atrocious political murder is committed, calling forth another ultimatum, and the forces of ruthlessness are once more assembled. The

world holds its breath in anticipation of the shock. But instead of violence there is a meeting of nations around a table, getting together in accordance with a procedure that has been definitely determined for just such an emergency. A discussion ensues lasting over two weeks, and out of the discussion comes a settlement of the difficulty. It is not a perfect settlement; at best it is a compromise; but nevertheless it is a liquidation by peaceful processes of a crisis that was leading inevitably to bloodshed and chaos.

What shall we say of this new method? What shall we think of this new technique? Surely those who oppose the League of Nations are under moral compulsion to suggest to the world something better, some approach to peace that holds out a greater promise for mankind.

The League and the United States as Experiments

The revelation of the League's moral strength afforded by the Greco-Italian crisis, is the one hopeful sign in the world to-day. And yet it would be idle to pretend that the League is out of the danger zone, or that it has the certain power to control the forces that are working toward violence. In attempting to correct age-long international practices its task is gigantic. Its enemies are using every weapon of ridicule and abuse to disarm it of its sole power: the faith of the common people of many nations in its moral authority and claim. Every mistake is hailed as fatal. Every evidence of uncertainty in finding the next step forward is greeted with derision. Even the liquidation of the Corfu crisis is widely advertised as a failure, and the fact of settlement is forgotten in the face of one or two unfortunate but incidental details. Corfu has been restored to Greece, but the enemies of the League are still calling attention to the fact that Mussolini challenged its competence. War has been averted, but the League detractors are emphasizing the point that the indemnity was actually paid to Italy before the investigation of the murders was completed. Peace reigns in the Mediterranean, but the critics are still condemning the League for allowing the question of its authority to be submitted to a committee of jurists instead of to the Court of International Justice. In brief, the League is decried because it has not scored a perfect record.

Of course no human institution ever scores such a record. Certainly no new experiment like the League of Nations can be expected to fulfil the entire promise of its possibilities in the first years of its growth. For the League is something utterly new in history. It has no body of tradition behind it, no precedents to guide it. It must feel its way along from case to case, growing through contact with experience. It must be developed step by step, adapting itself to new conditions and new problems. This is the history of all great social and political experiments. None of them has ever sprung full-armed and powerful into a waiting and friendly world. None has ever been born to its maximum strength or has been able immediately to measure up to its full responsibilities.

America of all nations should realize that patience and persistence are essential qualities in any pioneering of this kind, because 135 years ago we launched just such an experiment—an experiment utterly new and untried. For forty years it wobbled rather weakly, to the gleeful satisfaction of its enemies and the constant despair of its friends. If any one thinks that this statement is an exaggeration, let him read the record of our early days. In 1801 an act of Congress abolished the United States Supreme Court for fourteen months. Said William Plumer in the House of Representatives: "The Supreme Court must go. Its judges are denounced by the Executive as well as by the House. They are obnoxious and unyielding men and why should they remain to awe and embarrass the administration?" The same year witnessed a vicious and determined attack upon the whole federal judiciary system. "I resist every idea of having suits decided by foreigners," wrote Judge Todd of Kentucky to Senator Breckenridge, in opposing the establishment of Federal courts in the several States.

And how did the friends of the Constitution react to this concerted attack? "A vital blow has been struck," said Alexander Hamilton. "They have battered down the great outwork of the Constitution," wrote Gouverneur Morris. "There will be a new confederacy of the Northern States and the British Provinces," said Charles Pinckney, and the Washington *Federalist* lamented: "Farewell to all our greatness. Our Constitution is no more."

It took patience and courage to weather

that storm. The experiment was still very new; it still had to prove itself through trial and error. And in the next three decades, courage and patience were increasingly indispensable. There was conflict and breakdown, and the air was full of the threat of secession. In 1809 the Governor of Pennsylvania called out the State troops to resist an attempt to enforce a decree of the United States Supreme Court. New York and Massachusetts at different times both refused to recognize the Supreme Court's jurisdiction. Said a Boston paper: "The Supreme Court has no more right to meddle with our questions than the Court of King's Bench." All of New England was nervously talking of secession. "We are ready for separation," said the *Boston Gazette* in 1808, "if our independence cannot be maintained without it. We know and feel our strength and we will not have our rights destroyed by the mad schemes of a Virginia philosopher."

As late as 1832, the State of Georgia, with the quiet approval of President Jackson, snapped her fingers in the face of the Supreme Court and defied its power. "John Marshall has made his decision," said President Jackson, "now let him enforce it"; and newspapers in many quarters expressed astonishment and resentment that "the sovereign State of Georgia" should be "dragged before the bar." Henry Daniel of Kentucky gave utterance to a sentiment that was more than local when he said: "Nearly every State in the Union has had its sovereignty prostrated, and has been brought to bend beneath the feet of the Federal Tribunal. It is time that the States should prepare for the worst and protect themselves against the assaults of this gigantic court."

Meanwhile the Supreme Court, defied

and insulted, was humiliated and helpless. "Is that in truth any longer a government which is too feeble to execute its laws?" asked the *Richmond Whig*. "The Union is in the most imminent danger of dissolution," John Quincy Adams confided to his diary, "the ship is about to founder." Even John Marshall, the heroic figure who for more than thirty years had led the fight for the federal experiment, gave way to a moment of despair. "I yield slowly and reluctantly," he wrote, "to the conviction that our Constitution cannot last. Our opinions are incompatible with a united government even among ourselves. The Union has been prolonged thus far by miracles. I fear they cannot continue."

The League and the Future

The despair of those early days has given way to confidence. Through trial and error we have found our way to stable foundations. The battle has been won, and while mistakes and occasional breakdowns continue, we face the future with serenity.

The League of Nations must inevitably go through the same process. Step by step it must win its way forward to a surer footing. There will be moments of discouragement and despair. People will jeer at its errors and condemn its faltering progress. But with courage and patience to sustain it, it will steadily grow in strength and prestige. We cannot afford to let it fail, for upon it depends not only the immediate hope of the world, but perhaps the whole destiny of Western civilization. Surely the future of the race, if there is to be any future at all, rests upon the victory in this struggle between the power of international law and order and the power of violence and aggression.



THE FATE OF GERMANY

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE RUHR COLLAPSE

WITH the approach of the fifth anniversary of the Armistice, we come also to a new and appalling crisis in European affairs. The Ruhr War has ended in a new German disaster as complete as that which induced the surrender of 1918. Having for nine months poured the remaining resources of the Reich into the Ruhr area, having subsidized passive resistance and financed industrial sabotage, Germany has come to the end of her resources. The French and Belgians are in the Ruhr and the final hope of expelling them by means of passive resistance has expired.

Eight months ago, in describing the prospects of the Ruhr conflict in this magazine, I ventured to call it "The Siege of Germany"; and in announcing to the Reichstag the abandonment of passive resistance Chancellor Stresemann employed the same figure. He declared that Germany was in the position of a beleaguered city whose food supply had been exhausted. In a word, once more we have had a war carried to the ultimate phase—to what in 1918 we used to call, in Lloyd George's phrase, a "knockout."

But the fact that the resistance to France and Belgium has been carried to a decision has in itself eliminated all chance of the acquisition of terms by the vanquished. They have not, in fact, obtained any terms. The garrison has simply laid down its arms and disbanded. Passive resistance has been dropped, orders entailing it have been rescinded, but French and Belgian troops still sit in the Ruhr. Actually, as I write, not one step has been taken to readjust the situation, to liquidate the affair.

The reason is not far to seek. The Ruhr War was a foreign war, a resistance to foreign nations, but with its loss Germany has been plunged into a profound domestic political strife. Just as in November, 1918, on the heels of military disaster she had domestic revolution, following the 1923 defeat she is patently on the edge of a new

internal disturbance. It was the 1918 revolt which created the Republic. Now the Republic, after having lost another war, seems threatened with the fate of the Monarchy.

In all this baffling and complex situation only a few facts can clearly be distinguished. But these facts must be carefully noted. The Ruhr War was an effort to escape from the effects of the military defeat of 1918 and its consequent peace terms. That is, it was a deliberate and systematic effort to abolish the Treaty of Versailles, which the Germans had signed under duress but never accepted and never meant to fulfill even up to the limit of reasonable possibility.

Defeat in the Ruhr War automatically abolished the chance of destroying the Treaty of Versailles by direct assault. The outcome of the struggle being manifestly a complete French success, it was no longer to be doubted that the French would insist upon being paid and that the new question for Germany would be: Who should pay? Would it be Labor, by the increase of hours of work and the reduction of wages? Would it be Capital, through some form of capital levy? Would it be both, united to save the gravely threatened edifice of the nation?

Stresemann, like all his predecessors, once come to power, undertook to grapple with the economic situation. Hours of labor were to be increased and wages reduced, but at the same time corresponding demands were to be made of capital. And the result, as always, was the prompt desertion of Stresemann by all the political elements having relations with the capitalistic groups. Even more ostentatiously, the working-classes, through the Socialist and Communist parties, withdrew their support, because it became clear that while burdens would be placed upon them, similar burdens would not be carried by wealth. Hence the first Stresemann resignation and its crisis of early October.

While the question of paying under the Treaty of Versailles was one of foreign

policy, and all elements in Germany could and did unite in the struggle to resist and escape payment, the question of who shall pay is domestic; and it has precipitated the bitterest struggle republican Germany has yet known. Indeed, in all probability it has doomed the Republic itself. Unless all signs fail, we are on the eve of a dictatorship, coming from the Right—from the industrialists and the monarchists—which can only be met by a corresponding move toward a dictatorship coming from the Left, from the proletariat.

Germany seems, then, on the eve of civil war, or, perhaps more exactly, of a revolution which may be accomplished with little bloodshed through a successful *coup d'état* or may be foiled by one or the other side after bloody fighting. But in any case German unity seems at the point of breaking down. To resistance against the foreign enemy there is to succeed a battle for the control of Germany, with the simple purpose to settle which element, which class, shall pay what now must be paid.

A military dictator, Ludendorff, or some other servant of the old régime, backed by the Junkers and the Industrialists, can, perhaps, impose an iron control upon the German masses. It can put them to work, keep them at work, exploit them to pay the French and other creditors in so far as such payments can not be evaded or escaped. Such a dictatorship is now apparently the sole avenue of escape for the industrialists, who must otherwise expect to be compelled to disgorge a large fraction of their loot; for they have shamelessly plundered Germany both during the war and far more completely during the period since the Armistice.

As to the monarchist phase, it is, after all, a detail. Neither Stinnes nor his sort cares whether a Wittelsbach or a Hohenzollern rules in Germany. They are even satisfied that the present saddler stay as President, provided their interests are secure. But the difficulty is that neither Ebert nor his associates can protect the Stinneses. It needs the old order, it needs the agents of blood and iron.

Accordingly, just as they have exploited patriotism in the Ruhr conflict, the industrialists are now preparing to exploit the old-fashioned monarchical variety of patriotism. They are going to try to give Germany a dictator and perhaps a little later restore one of the dynasties, because a

dictator or a monarch would be their creature, bound to defend them against the Socialist masses. But while they are actually interested now in subjugating the domestic foe, they will strive to accomplish their purpose by exploiting the remaining vestiges of loyalty among the German people to a system under which they were even recently great.

The most sinister circumstance of this whole German crisis is manifestly the collapse of a sense of national solidarity. Class warfare has broken out, not in a limited area, as in France after 1870, but from one end to the other of the country. A strange, colossal selfishness has taken the place of all patriotism. Up to the present moment Labor and Capital, in something like partnership, have plundered the nation. The middle classes have not merely been beggared, they have been well-nigh abolished; but the Stinneses have been able to complete their looting because they consented to maintain wages for the workers at a level which kept the masses, if not satisfied, at least free from suffering.

To-day this partnership is on the point of dissolution. To maintain wages the Cuno government bankrupted the nation, pouring millions into the Ruhr to support passive resistance. But since the state can no longer be made to pay the bills of the industrialists, or find a subsidy for labor, now it is a question of whether Labor or Capital shall meet the new costs of the lost war. In this crisis Capital turns to a dictatorship and Labor looks to revolution. That is the present German situation in a nutshell.

II. DISINTEGRATION?

Given this situation, what is the most obvious development? Plainly disintegration. A reactionary dictatorship has actually gained control in Bavaria, but a radical dictatorship on the same terms is well-nigh inevitable in Saxony. In a word, you have areas in Germany where the control of the reactionaries, using the term to describe both the monarchists and the industrialists, is assured; but you have just as certainly other areas where radical control, Socialist and even Communist, is equally plainly indicated.

Supposing such a development, then the great problem becomes one of discovering which element will seize the central or

Berlin government and whether it can as a consequence dominate the nation. For example, if the reactionaries gain control of the national machine, can they use it to beat down Socialist and Communist majorities in various sections of the country? In any event this would seem to premise civil war.

But at this precise point we pass to the international situation. The French are in the Ruhr. They seek reparations, which grow less and less likely as Germany continues to sink. But, seeking reparations, they have seized collateral, sanctions. They have taken the solid asset of the Ruhr and, in company with the Belgians, hold in their hands the best coal fields of Europe, capable of exploitation and capable thus of supplying at least a substantial return on the French claim.

In this situation, are the French likely to permit the reactionaries to use control of the central government to dominate the Ruhr and the Rhineland? Remember that without the Ruhr and the Rhineland the reactionaries, the industrialists, any German group, is actually powerless to restore Germany, for German restoration must be built upon the foundation of Ruhr coal and Ruhr industry.

Or, go a step farther; are the French likely to permit the reactionaries to gain control in Germany, to restore, if not the monarchy directly, the machinery and above all the military machinery? Conceive that Ludendorff might be called to power, what would the French reaction be? Obviously to appeal to Foch. The triumph of the old order in Germany would be an immediate challenge to French victory and an ultimate threat to French security. But it lies in French power to destroy any reactionary group in Germany, for the fate of Germany now and henceforth lies in French hands.

Thus it is inevitable that a military dictatorship, controlled and directed chiefly by industrialists, involves at once a new struggle with France and a totally hopeless struggle. Without the Ruhr, as I have said, no régime can succeed in Germany; but the French are not only certain to refuse any form of evacuation, if the militarists appear in a new dictatorship, but they are bound to take new steps to safeguard their own interests and security.

With a dictatorship of the proletariat the French are less concerned, because such a

dictatorship is, for the time being at least, more dangerous for Germany than for France. Whatever might be the greeting of a military dictatorship in Germany, the arrival of Red control would mean instant and widespread strife. It would mean secessions and appalling disintegration. It would probably mean the end of the German edifice as Bismarck built it. It would in all probability mean a return to that form of German chaos which existed before the French Revolution. Germany would become, once more, little but a geographical expression.

But if Germany is to fly into bits, one region is already clearly indicated as a unit—namely, the Ruhr and Rhineland. It is now occupied by French and Belgian forces and could be protected against any interference from Berlin. It can no longer look for food from the rest of Germany. It must work or starve, but the sole sure source of pay for labor, of food, of existence, must be France.

We have, then, quite palpably the material out of which may be constructed a Rhineland state. Such a state would not be annexed by France. It would have its own political institutions and officials, but it would in the very nature of things be dependent upon France and Belgium economically; and the greater the dislocation of the balance of Germany the more complete this dependence.

Moreover, the Rhineland state now increasingly offers France—and Belgium—the single solid satisfaction that they can hope to rescue from the increasing destruction of all reparations prospects. The coal and the machines of the Ruhr, to-day held by the German industrialists, would pass to Franco-Belgian control, just as the coal mines of the Saar became French national property. The sale of the coal and of the products of the machines would pay something rather substantial to the French and Belgian treasuries.

But, at best, reparations would become a secondary detail. What an independent Rhineland would mean would be security for France and Belgium. And always in these articles, for more than four years, I have been trying to explain that the less chance there was for obtaining reparations the greater would be the French determination to have security. Such security becomes absolute the moment German unity disappears, and it is additionally fortified

in the hour when the Rhine Valley is separated from any German state and passes under the economic influence of the West, of France and Belgium, as it was before the French Revolution.

That there is any strong sentiment for such a state in the Rhineland may well be questioned. That such a state would ever permanently resist the centripetal pull of nationalism and race may be doubted. The recent weeks have seen a bloody tragedy at Düsseldorf, resulting from an attack upon the champions of the Rhineland project by the police and agents of the Berlin government. It is probably true, as is generally alleged, that much if not all of the sentiment for the Rhineland experiment—such sentiment as there is—has been manufactured in France.

Yet you have the very obvious fact that Germany can no longer feed or support the millions of workers in the Ruhr. Even if they go back to work now, German money is worthless. And not only must the people of the Ruhr work, but they must be paid or perish. Moreover, France and Belgium can pay them, selling their coal and other products on the markets of the world, where coal is not over-plentiful and still fetches a handsome price.

The Rhineland state may prove as impermanent as Napoleonic creations in the same area. French control of German populations may be completely unsuccessful and lead inevitably to another 1813, a new war of liberation. But such a war of liberation can only come when there is at least one German state, like the Prussia of 1807-1813, thoroughly united and dominated by a spirit of patriotic determination. And it is exactly this spirit which seems totally lacking in Germany at the present hour, so far as we at a distance can judge.

In 1813 and the years just preceding, the nobility of Germany, the leaders and rulers, while organizing the struggle against France, insured the loyalty of the masses by intelligent and far-reaching reforms. They achieved national and racial unity in advance of making war upon the invader. To-day the whole process is reversed, and those who have influence in Germany are more occupied with domestic advantage, with personal profit or the limiting of personal contribution to national salvation, than with any higher consideration. And if the condition is transitory, while it lasts the consequences must be fatal.

III. A DICTATOR?

In my judgment—and it is a personal judgment, although it has very widespread acceptance—Germany is marching toward disintegration, is on the eve of a dictatorship imposed by a collaboration of Junkers and Industrialists, a dictatorship which seems certain to bring civil war. One circumstance, and not the least important, of such a civil war will be the emergence of an independent Rhineland state, economically bound to France and Belgium, politically free, but also politically divorced from the rest of Germany.

If by any chance the military dictatorship should prove even measurably successful, then it must, in the nature of things, to justify and maintain its existence, arouse the apprehensions and even invite the intervention of the nations vitally concerned in preserving the territorial settlements of the World War—namely, France, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Such intervention would instantly raise questions like those of Danzig and Upper Silesia, and might lead to a new partition of Prussia.

Certainly these things will come, if at all, much less rapidly than might be expected. Perhaps they will not come at all. But at the very least they are nearer now than at any moment since the Armistice; and no one can pretend that German conditions have not marched toward utter ruin with an even if tardy pace. To-day there are lacking the political parties and principles, the leaders, the material resources, for the salvaging of Germany; and Germans are fighting Germans over the right to strip the corpse. That is the simple if tremendous fact of the matter.

And on the human side it is hard to imagine a more tremendous spectacle than that of the disintegration and collapse of Germany, going on before our very eyes. Not since the French Revolution has there been anything to compare with it among western nations. It has points of resemblance to the Russian débâcle, yet the differences are so enormous as to abolish any real parallel. The collapse is of every sort—political, economic, moral. The bankruptcy of statesmanship is even more complete than that of finance. Sixty millions of people are rapidly divesting themselves of everything that goes to make up the existence of orderly national life and of even tolerable social existence.

Every symptom which has ever been associated with revolution can be recognized upon the very surface of things. One of the most highly organized communities the world has ever seen, industrially and commercially, has been reduced to an existence by barter. Perhaps the most efficiently organized unit in human history has become the playground of the maddest economic heresies and the most preposterous financial delusions.

And beneath the ever-changing and ever-troubled surface of affairs there is an appalling misery which can hardly be likened to anything since the Dark Ages. The social decay far outdistances the political or the economic. The intellectual classes are practically doomed to extinction. If the Russian débâcle could be laid to conditions which were peculiar to Russia alone, certainly no such explanation can be found for the collapse of a state which in all outward circumstance at least was typical of our modern age and our contemporary civilization.

Inevitably we are led to comment and consider the details of the almost unprecedented disaster which has overtaken a great people. We continue to debate the question of reparations and of the Ruhr. The present moment is interpreted in terms of recent history. Franco-German rivalries and wars come to mind and supply easy basis for discussion. But the truth of the present situation goes far beyond such interpretations. Certainly, since the outbreak of the French Revolution there has been nothing so shattering to long established conceptions of national existence as is now taking place in Germany before the eyes of a world grown so accustomed to spectacles of destruction as to follow the latest and greatest with languid and wearied attention.

To explain the German situation as a consequence of a lost war will not do, for the German plight after the Armistice could not be compared with that of the French after Waterloo. The occupation of the Ruhr does not compare with the extent and importance of French territory occupied after 1815 and for succeeding years. The exhaustion after the recent conflict was not equal to that of France after a struggle lasting from 1792 to 1815. Whereas the victorious allies of a century ago imposed a sovereign upon France and undertook to destroy the very form of

French institutions created by the Revolution and accepted by all France, the victors of 1918 did not and have not interfered with the domestic politics of Germany. The Kaiser was not sent to St. Helena; Ludendorff was not executed as was Marshal Ney.

Moreover, nothing in the immediate consequences of the German defeat in 1918 suggested the disaster which overtook Prussia in 1806; but five years later the regeneration of Prussia was well on the way and only two years later Leipzig abolished the evils of Jena. Yet between 1806 and 1813 the burden of foreign oppression, of French domination, bore vastly more heavily upon Prussia, than between 1918 and 1923, while the territorial amputations were much more considerable.

The difference, it would seem, is found in the fact that between 1806 and 1813 Prussia threw up half a dozen statesmen of first rank, who were able to utilize a national patriotism which has few rivals in all history. But since 1818 Germany has not turned up a man of any real character and ability. Those who have led her have exploited such patriotism as existed until now, when it should be the supreme element in national liberation and salvation, it seems non-existent.

If to-day I lay emphasis—perhaps it will seem to the reader overemphasis—upon the German spectacle, it is precisely because it seems to me the largest thing which has happened in the lifetime of anyone now alive. It may not, as Germans and not a few others assert, foreshadow the collapse of all our common western civilization, but certainly it does demonstrate weaknesses unsuspected ten years ago and open horizons which can hardly fail to be disquieting. Hitherto we have thought of the decay and decline of nations as a long, slow process, hardly distinguishable to the contemporary eye. But here we have a supreme catastrophe measured by five years of time and seemingly all but complete everywhere.

The World War was, after all, like other wars, only more tremendous. The Treaty of Versailles was like other treaties; it was hardly different from the great settlements of the past—Westphalia, Utrecht, and Vienna. It contained certain inequitable provisions, but so did the preceding adjustments and in larger measure. It undertook certain impossibilities, yet such was

the case with its predecessors. So far, history on the whole repeated itself. But here the parallel stops, and for what is now happening in Germany we have no adequate example.

Yet assuming that Lord Curzon is correct and that Germany is on the point of collapse and disintegration, it is at least plain that this may prove one of the largest facts in history since the Dark Ages; and, it seems to me that it is in this light that one must now read the confusing, inexplicable, but always more alarming despatches which are pouring from Germany and from every European window looking out upon that unhappy country.

IV. FRANCE AND BRITAIN

Within Germany, then, the past month has been marked, first, by the formal abandonment of passive resistance and the whole Ruhr struggle, an abandonment made after a futile effort to get terms from France, to sell France this surrender. There has followed the domestic political crisis, the first resignation of Stresemann, followed by an interlude of intrigue, by a desperate effort to float a dictatorship on the consent of the Reichstag, and then a feeble attempt to restore the Stresemann government. But all German despatches tell us that Stinnes and his partners, the big industrialists, have stabbed the Stresemann government in the back and are now committed to a dictator.

This means, if it means anything, given the inevitable character of the dictatorship, that Germany means to continue the struggle against the treaty. It means more than this. All things considered, it would seem to indicate that there is no longer any substantial chance that Germany can save herself from either the foreign foe or the domestic peril. Now, in this state of affairs it becomes increasingly important to know if Germany can be saved from the outside.

But in this direction the events of the past four weeks have been conclusive. Stanley Baldwin has been to Paris and had his long-promised meeting with Poincaré. As a consequence of the personal conversation, he has testified to a restoration of friendly atmosphere and to a mutual recognition of the importance of the preservation of the Entente. Even more important has been the interpretation placed upon the British Prime Minister's comments by

both British and French critics. On both sides of the Channel it has been recognized that British intervention to save Germany has not only failed but come to an end.

This obvious truth was bluntly stated to the Imperial Conference by Lord Curzon himself. England had tried and failed—that is what Curzon told the premiers of the Dominions. Even more, he added that the usefulness of further attempts could not be established. In terms, then, the British ministry has abandoned its effort to save Germany through friendly or other pressure upon France. Stresemann told the Reichstag the same thing when he asked a heckler what use he could see in a separate treaty with Britain, while the French stayed in the Ruhr, as stay they would.

In reality the situation has not changed, but the British appreciation of it has been enlarged. It was always true that short of war there was no way to get the French and Belgians out of the Ruhr, save as they chose to move. The British could participate in the occupation or they could adopt a disapproving but passive neutrality; what they could not do was, by any method of remonstrance, appeal, or threat, to move Poincaré.

In Britain there seems to have been a general notion that to save the Entente France would yield in the Ruhr, but the truth was that if the Entente did not back France against Germany it lost its chief value for Frenchmen. In August Britain told France the occupation of the Ruhr was both illegal and costly to Britain; that it was, in view of British sentiment, bound to wreck the Entente; and that in British judgment the last German proposal supplied adequate basis for a resumption of negotiations with Berlin.

But in September France told Britain that the occupation was legal; that it was British policy, not French, which was making the Ruhr War endure and thus expensive for Britain; that France valued the Entente, but chiefly as the Entente proved the basis of common action. It refused to accept the German proposal as a basis for discussion, and it demanded—Belgium concurring—that Germany abandon passive resistance before any discussion was begun.

Finally, in August London told Paris that if the British note were not accepted, at least in a measure, separate negotiations might begin between the British and the

German governments. But in September the French response left London free, if it chose to open direct negotiations. Moreover, in October, no such step having been taken, Berlin, through the Prime Minister himself, frankly affirmed that no such negotiations could have any real value.

The sum and substance of the whole matter, then, is that the recent course of Baldwin and of the British Government has been determined by the fact that events have demonstrated that Britain cannot save Germany. British policy—which under Lloyd George, Bonar Law, and Baldwin, has aimed at the economic rehabilitation of the German state, always of course on condition of payment of possible reparations—has failed. It has failed to persuade France, it has failed to enlist Italy, Belgium, any Allied or Succession state on the Continent. It has failed to enlist any useful and official American support.

Nothing is left, then, but Mr. Asquith's familiar and unfortunate method. Britain is left "to wait and see," always with a fairly adequate foreknowledge that while it waits what it does not want to see will come to pass. Opposition to the French method, apprehension as to the consequences to Britain of German collapse, remain. Nothing suggests that British disapprobation of French policy has diminished one degree since Mr. Baldwin visited M. Poincaré. On the contrary, it is plain that the submission of Mr. Baldwin—if not to M. Poincaré, to the logic of the situation—has weakened him materially in Britain.

But no successor, if foreign failure brings about the fall of the present British Government, can deal otherwise with France until one of two things happens: Either British sentiment is so aroused and unanimous that Britain can undertake war to liberate Germany, or else the sentiment of the world is so aroused that something like the universal condemnation of Mussolini's policy in Corfu is visited upon Poincaré's in the Ruhr. And neither circumstance is now visible or discoverable as likely to arrive in the near future.

What is more—Curzon indicated it in the speech I have already cited—time runs against any policy of salvaging Germany. Perhaps the really deciding factor in Baldwin's mind was the discovery that it was no longer possible to save Germany because of the rapid onset of domestic chaos. It is

hard to believe, however, that British policy will change or that, sooner or later, we shall not have a new British intervention; since it is almost beyond debate that economically and politically the consequences of German collapse and disintegration are bound to be distasteful and even disastrous to Britain herself.

But for the moment the hand is played out. France has discovered, Britain admitted, Germany proclaimed, that there is no possible hope for successful British intervention. The whole power rests with France, with Poincaré, whose home front has been consolidated by the victory in Germany to such an extent that even M. Briand, whom he dramatically overturned two years ago, now urges all good Frenchmen to support his successor.

Outwardly Franco-British relations are better than recently, because Britain has abandoned her effort to change French policies; but, as Curzon's speech indicated, they are fundamentally no better, because nothing has been accomplished in reconciling the two widely differing points of view. The recent tension has not been abolished by agreement or compromise. All that has happened is that one party, still holding firmly to its original point of view, has recognized the present futility of a further pressing of this conviction. We have had, then, a British surrender as well as a German; but both have been to force, and have left the British and the Germans still totally unwilling to accept the French argument or adopt the French conclusions.

There has been no real reconciliation between France and Britain as a result of Stanley Baldwin's Paris visit. There has been no considerable or even slight revitalizing of the Entente. And sooner or later it is almost inevitable that the British and French interests and policies will come into collision in Germany again. Meantime, however, Poincaré is free to concentrate his attention upon Germany. For two years he has struggled to arrive at the point he has now reached, to make clear that France could and would stand upon the Treaty of Versailles, that her consent to modifications could be only obtained in return for balancing concessions on both German and British sides.

When the Treaty of Versailles was made, Poincaré did not approve of it. He regarded it as a bad treaty for France. When, after it was signed, however, he saw

successive French Premiers consent to modifications, to what he regarded as unilateral concessions, under the spell of Lloyd George, he took the field to defend what was left of that treaty which he had regarded as inadequate in the first instance. Now, after more than five years of struggle at home and abroad, he has carried his view. He has reestablished the Treaty of Versailles. It must now be the point of departure of all further negotiations.

It has been a long fight, a stubborn fight. It has been made by a man who is beyond all else a lawyer with great tenacity, with Lorraine obstinacy, with patent courage, but with little or none of the political arts which made Lloyd George popular in Britain and which Briand followed in France. It has been a "one-man show" and it has given Poincaré a position in France approaching that of Clemenceau at the moment of the victorious end of the war, for, in reality, to France it has meant the winning of another phase of the same war, restoring the victory as Clemenceau restored the battle in the low tide of 1917.

Moreover, to measure the future by the past, Poincaré is going on to the bitter end. No fear of German collapse, no actual collapse will shake him, no British intervention will move him from his pathway. Germany must pay, must meet French terms, must surrender her resistance. Or, so far as Poincaré is concerned, ruin may overtake Germany—a ruin which may cost French reparations but will certainly increase French security. And in a very real sense Poincaré has repeated the achievement of Foch; he has again conquered the Germans. But Foch had allies, and Poincaré has had only Belgium, a loyal and a previous ally but hardly strong enough to balance British opposition or Italian coldness, let alone American aloofness.

When Poincaré replaced Briand, nearly two years ago, France had sunk to a position of weakness hardly recognizable now. Clemenceau had made peace on the basis of continuing association with Britain and the United States, an association founded upon treaties of guarantee. But the whole value of the Versailles Treaty had well-nigh vanished, so far as France was concerned, through the retirement of the United States; and without any guarantees France confronted Germany, manifestly recovering from the war and relying upon

British aid to escape those payments without which France would be bankrupt.

At the end of two years there is no longer any question of the necessity of Germany to meet French terms. The sole problem is whether her futile resistance has not doomed her to internal collapse. French security is now assured alike by strongly constructed alliances between France, Poland, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia, with other agreements binding to her both Yugoslavia and Rumania, and by the presence of French troops in the Ruhr, the war-making center of Germany. But, above all, French security is assured by the ever-increasing decay of Germany itself.

However unstable or dangerous French eminence may be, the plain fact which we have to recognize in dealing with present-day European questions is that it exists. That it exists, too, is due well-nigh exclusively to Poincaré. It is a fact of his own making and within a period which is unmistakably brief, since it has all happened after the Washington Conference, in which France by common consent touched the lowest point in her post-bellum fortunes.

V. GERMANY'S LATEST MOVE

As I close this article, word comes from Berlin, Paris, and Brussels that the German Government has undertaken new inquiries to discover the will of the victors, and has begun to make arrangements for the resumption of coal deliveries and other reparations in kind. And with this news comes the natural concomitant, the suggestion that plans for the modification of the character of the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr are on foot. Thus we have one more clear demonstration of the fact that the Ruhr War is over.

Even more interesting is the report of the effort of the great industrialists to make terms with the French Government. These terms would involve reduction of wages and increase of hours of labor for their employees. They would, in reality, enable the industrialists, with French approval and even support, while undertaking to pay France and Belgium, to put the costs and burden upon the masses, the workingmen.

You see the obvious maneuver. France and Belgium want reparations; they need them badly. Stinnes and his group can supply them; but Stinnes and his group are seeking, in return, to get the support of

French influence and, if necessary, of French bayonets for their own position. They are striving to make a separate peace with the enemy, in reality an alliance with the invader against their own opponents at home.

The Ruhr War has been lost, and Germany must pay. The industrialists accept this decision. But the war and the peace, with the Ruhr episode, have enabled these industrialists to get into their own hands the wealth of Germany. Now they are threatened with an effort on the part of the nation, and even of the Government, to make them disgorge in the form of taxes and capital levy. Their alternative is a separate peace with France and Belgium—a bargain. They will find coal and other payments for their conquerors; but, in return, their conquerors are to defend them in the Ruhr, where their mines and manufacturing are, against their fellow countrymen and their own Government.

Such scant news as has come from Paris does not suggest that, as yet, there is any French inclination to accept the proposal. It means in reality a partnership of the French Republic with the German industrial magnates, to sweat reparations out of the working masses of Germany. The horizons this proposal opens are too vast to be considered now, but it is hard to see that they forecast any real peace within Germany. On the contrary it is not impossible that this move on the part of the industrialists will give new impetus to the Radicals, to the Socialists and Communists. Should the French accept the offer, then the masses of Germany will be led alike by class interest and by patriotic impulse to resist, to seek at one time to make war upon the domestic and the foreign foe.

What Stinnes obviously seeks is an industrialist dictatorship. And in his defense of his course, evoked by violent criticism, he insists that Stresemann first consented to this and then vacillated owing to the opposition of the Socialists and Social Democrats. The result of the Stresemann hesitation was the refusal of the representatives of the industrialists to serve, the first cabinet crisis and the subsequent chaos. This refusal has been described by such critics as George Bernhard as "a stab in the back," and has roused fierce passions.

The fate of the second Stresemann Cabinet seems in the balance. If it goes with Stinnes, it faces the revolt of the Socialists and of the more extreme radicals

in and out of the Reichstag. But if it listens to this left and repulses the Stinnes proposals, it has to consider attacks coming alike from the industrialists and the nationalists.

In sum, following the defeat of the Ruhr, the German internal unity has broken down, a war of parties and of interests has broken out. No strong leader has appeared, or can now appear, this side of a military dictator. But we have nothing to suggest that in Germany, as in Italy and Spain, a majority of the nation are ready to accept a dictator, without regard to any other question than that of saving the nation. Mussolini, at least for the moment, embodied the manifest will of the Italian people to live. It was a patriotic emotion rising above party and class which gave him his amazing opportunity. What is not discoverable on the surface of German affairs is any comparable national emotion.

But unless some similar spirit of national solidarity develops with little delay, it is hard to see how Germany can be saved as one nation, or disintegration and revolution avoided. This is a moment of supreme crisis, with the fate of Germany in the balance and the immediate future of Europe at issue.

VI. END OF THE CORFU AFFAIR

Turning now to the liquidation of the Corfu episode, which filled the world with rumors and alarms a month ago, one may almost dismiss it with a passing comment, so rapidly and completely was it disposed of. Having discovered that the whole sentiment of the world was against him, and that a permanent occupation of Corfu was impossible save at the cost of universal execration and perhaps of actual clash with Britain, Mussolini quickly consented to accept the decision of the Council of Ambassadors. Moreover, the problem of this council became not one of getting Italy out of Corfu, as a matter of force, but of finding a retreat for Italy which would be consistent with national pride and self-respect.

This way was found by insistence that Italy fix and meet an early date of evacuation, and then by an award to Italy of the 50,000,000 francs fixed as a forfeit, on the pretty thin pretext that the Greeks had not pursued the investigation of the crime and apprehended the assassins with due and promised celerity. Mussolini took the

money and evacuated, pledging the transfer of a substantial portion of the sum to the victims of the totally indefensible bombardment of Corfu by the Italian fleet, victims who were not Greeks but refugees from Turkey.

If the avenue of escape was hardly to be commended from its moral aspect, nevertheless it had the supreme merit of bringing to an abrupt close one of the most dangerous incidents in recent history. Italy did subsequently point with some show of pride to the vindication of her policy, but there was no disguising the fact that Italian prestige and Italian credit had suffered in the world and that, outside of Italy at least, there had been a diminution of Italian standing.

Meantime the crisis at Fiume, which seemed imminent a month ago, has been postponed. The situation is not adjusted, and the danger of a collision between Italy and Yugoslavia remains; but it is unmistakable that Italian intransigence has undergone a marked shrinkage.

Credit for the peaceful solution of the whole episode remains with Poincaré, who refused to permit his representative at Geneva to join the general assault upon Italy and who from first to last maintained the position of a friend of Italy seeking to bring the whole matter to a close in a fashion satisfactory to Italy. It was a policy of compromise. It was unmistakably a policy based upon self-interest and not primarily concerned with the rights of the matter. But it was just such a settlement as Sir Edward Grey fathered in the Conference of London after the first Balkan War, when he sacrificed Greek and Serbian rights to the cause of European peace.

Meantime, at Geneva the course of the Council of Ambassadors aroused no little resentment. The League wanted to accept the challenge of the Italians—the challenge which had denied the competence of the League to deal with the Corfu question, since it involved a matter of national honor. But the pressure of France, mainly, prevented the League from acting as drastically as many members would have wished, despite the fact that such a course involved the certain withdrawal of Italy from the League. In the end, the compromise hit upon placed an abstract question before the court of justice, which in all respects resembled that concrete issue raised by the Italian action. All Salandra was able to

accomplish, with French support, was that Italy should not be brought before the court as a culprit. Again, one may well say that this was a rather weak evasion. Yet the world is bound to see in the inevitable decision of the court the denial of the Italian claim. The principle is established even if there is no summary police-court sentence.

On the whole, it does not seem to me Geneva comes badly from the dispute. It did not settle it, but on the other hand, largely perhaps due to the existence of the Society of Nations, the matter was settled peacefully. Moreover, the League did not weakly lie down under the impudent Mussolini challenge. On the contrary, it did get the principle brought to the jurisdiction of its court, and it will succeed in establishing a precedent that the League is competent to deal with any new Corfu affair.

After all, this is just about as much as it is reasonable to expect of the League. It cannot make peace, since it has no machinery to carry out its decisions or impose its will upon any country, large or small. Had Italy persisted, the single possible restraint would have come from the intervention of great powers—such, for example, as Britain—not in the interest of justice, but because Italy at Corfu was a menace to Britain in Malta. It was not mainly because of the questions of right and wrong raised by Italian aggression that Britain insisted upon League competence and opposed Italy. It was because a patent example of evil-doing also involved definite British interests for which Britain was prepared, if necessary, to fight.

The course of France, on the contrary, was determined with equal disregard for the immanent justice of the matter, but with natural concern for French interests. Britain was more concerned in defeating Italian purposes than in enlisting Italian gratitude. France was less concerned with Italian purposes than with the possible increase of Italian friendship for France, with corresponding Italian support in the Ruhr. But given French relations with many smaller powers, notably the Little Entente, France was bound to join in urging Italy to retire and could not act as a first friend, beyond making easy for Italy a retirement which was essential.

Now the fact about the League which the Corfu affair, like that of Upper Silesia, clearly demonstrates is that the action of

the representatives of the Great Powers in the League will be dictated by the special and peculiar interests of those powers themselves. And, as the world now exists, it will be the decision of the great powers which controls—because it will have to be the armies and the fleets of the great powers which enforce the decisions of Geneva, if they are to be enforced at all. Had Italy persisted in remaining in Corfu, the League could have handed down an indictment, which would have voiced the moral sentiment of mankind, exception being made for Italians; but thereafter all would depend on whether the Italian possession of Corfu seemed to Great Britain a sufficient menace to her Mediterranean communications to warrant war, and whether France, in the last analysis, would support her Little Entente allies against Italy or regard Italian alliance as of greater permanent importance.

Moreover, the Corfu affair was about the most favorable issue that could be raised, from the League standpoint. The Italian act had no defenders and no real defense. But if the test had come on a more involved issue—if the Turkish question, which was resolved at Lausanne, had been pitchforked into the League—then there would have been a clear division and France and Italy might easily have stood on one side, with Britain on the other backing Greece.

If to-morrow, by any hook or crook, the Ruhr issue could be got before the League, you would have an instant division based upon interest. You would have France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia united; you would have Italy quite ready to barter her vote at Geneva against concessions in the Adriatic or the *Ægean*; while at best you would have Germany supported by England, the Scandinavian countries, Holland, and the ex-enemy states of Hungary and Bulgaria, whose championship would instantly enlist Yugoslavia and Rumania on the French side. Therefore you would have deadlock and as a consequence destruction of League prestige.

This does not establish the fact that the League is useless. On the contrary it manifestly has uses. But it does, it seems to me, indicate that there are obvious limitations to its usefulness. It cannot prevent war or preserve peace, because it has no power within itself to carry out decisions. In the last analysis, the League can only see its decisions translated into influence as these

decisions so completely coincide with the policies of great nations that those nations are willing to adopt the Geneva expression, take advantage of the moral endorsement thus obtained, and proceed to the prosecution of national policies which they were bound in any event to prosecute.

Italy got out of Corfu because the alternative was war with Great Britain and the Little Entente—a war, to be sure, made less attractive as a consequence of the moral verdict of Geneva. But it is Great Britain and not Geneva that the Italians hold responsible for their experience both at Geneva and elsewhere. Moreover, this British action they universally set down to British unwillingness to see Italy grow too strong in waters still dominated by British fleets and still the pathway of British Empire. And this resentment, for a considerable time, will deprive Britain of any real support from Italian sources in her German policy; it adds to her isolation in Europe and, for the moment at least, strengthens the French position, as Poincaré hoped it would.

In terminating this discussion, I should like to take a simple illustration: American marines are in Haiti. Suppose that by any chance the American occupation were put before the Geneva Conference. Would the United States, even assuming it were a member, easily consent to have its policy determined by the South American representatives and those of the small states of Europe? And, more to the point, would Great Britain, would France, would Italy, all of them for many reasons eager to preserve and extend their good relations with the United States, risk sacrificing our friendship to what would be at most the championship of an abstract principle?

Obviously not. British policy would be dominated by British interest, and the area of Downing Street would awaken few echoes of Haitian protests. Nor would Paris or Rome be more responsive. At Geneva the British, French, and Italian representatives, under instructions from their respective governments, would follow the course of the American representative, itself determined from Washington, with manifest approval. However wrong our policy toward Haiti—and I am not here even suggesting any reproach upon it—this would not weigh in London, Paris, or Rome against the great and enduring value of American friendly relations.

After the Corfu episode was over, Stanley Baldwin paid a high tribute to the service of the League. But it is worth recalling that when the Council of the League resolved the Upper Silesian dispute, in a fashion unsatisfactory to Britain and in accordance with Polish aspirations and French policy, Mr. Baldwin's predecessor openly despaired of the League and the British press was well-nigh unanimous in condemning it.

VII. THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

I have left brief space to comment on what must be reckoned as one of the most interesting and important events not merely of the month but of the year—namely, the British Imperial Conference. The moment of the meeting of the Premiers of the British Overseas Dominions is, too, of rare significance. The question on many, if not all, British lips is whether there can be found within the four corners of the empire itself a field for British industry which will replace the lost markets of Europe, markets lost as a result of the war and the subsequent German disturbances.

But there is an even deeper question, one of the most interesting which the world confronts to-day, and that is whether some method can be found for bringing about a unification of the scattered fragments of the British Empire ranged round the Seven Seas, as our forefathers were able to fuse and found the American commonwealth. Can there be discovered an economic and political framework of unity which will permit the gradual development of the empire as a single unit? Or will size and distance, the inevitable divergence of interests, promote dispersion?

The World War clearly demonstrated that the British Empire could not be destroyed by outside attack. All German calculations in this direction were disclosed to have been not only unfounded but ridiculous, when Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa answered the appeal of the mother country—when Canada at Ypres and Vimy, and Australia at the Dardanelles, answered the roll-call of empire on the stricken fields of Europe.

But Canada, Australia and South Africa emerged from the World War with a new status officially recognized in the Treaty of Versailles itself. Their very services in the war entitled them to demand recogni-

tion, no longer as wards but as full partners. Above all, having by their prompt response and their splendid loyalty disclosed their acceptance of responsibilities, they were entitled to ask participation in the making of those foreign policies which might involve them, as well as the United Kingdom, in a new war.

There is the double problem: the finding of some basis of economic solidarity, something that more or less clearly resembles the once familiar gospel of preferential tariffs advocated by Chamberlain, and there is the equally grave necessity to find some way by which the Dominions can share in the making of the policies which they are bound to fight to sustain.

As I write, the session of the Premiers—at which Ireland, lately admitted to the League of Nations, now appears for the first time in London invested with the full dignity of a self-governing dominion—has made no notable decision and has disclosed no broad program. It has listened with obvious lack of enthusiasm to the recital by Lord Curzon of the recent past of British foreign policy and to a rather caustic arraignment of British economic dependence upon the United States by the Australian Premier.

It is clear that the task of finding a common basis of imperial federation will neither be easy nor quickly achieved. This is not because there is an absence of good will or a lack of loyalty. Nothing of the sort is discoverable. What is manifest is that the task itself is stupendous, and progress toward realization will be slow at best. For the British Isles, however, the need of a new adjustment is patent. Like the United States, England would escape from the European mess; but, unlike the United States, it cannot withdraw from Europe. It cannot completely divest itself of European responsibilities, and such possibility of escape as exists must be found through the empire.

Whether it succeeds or fails—and there is not the smallest reason for forecasting failure—this British experiment must last over many decades and supply one of the most absorbingly interesting spectacles of our own times. Successful, it must follow closely in the pathway of our own confederation of states, while our close relations and ties with both the United Kingdom and the Dominions will make it of constant interest and meaning for us.

JAPAN'S WRECKED CITIES

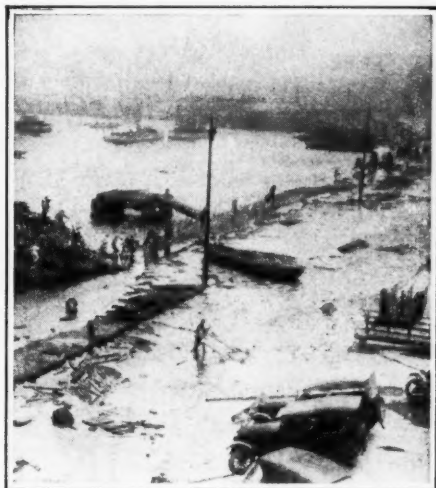
(From photographs made immediately after the great earthquake and fire of September 1)



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FISSURES IN A YOKOHAMA STREET

(A sufficient explanation of why buildings fell and water-mains burst)



THE WATERFRONT OF YOKOHAMA

(Where a tidal wave followed the earth shock and completed the damage)



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ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL STREETS OF TOKYO

(The steel framework of the modern skyscraper at the right, still in course of construction, survived the disaster better than its neighbors)



THE FINANCIAL DISTRICT OF TOKYO

(Showing not only vast ruin, but also a queer streak of fate—or was it better construction?—which spared one building only)



ALFONSO XIII, THE POPULAR KING OF SPAIN

THE MILITARY UPRISING IN SPAIN

HOW IT CAME ABOUT AND WHY

BY J. B. MACDONALD

(A resident of Barcelona)

MILITARY *pronunciamentos*, or pronouncements which make or unmake the ruling powers, have long been recognized as political expedients in Spain; and the last one has been preëminently successful.

The conditions of the country, geographic, political and social, lend themselves to such methods. Spain, after the Roman fashion, is divided into certain areas in each of which a Captain-General commands the military forces while a Civil Governor directs the civil administration. Should these Captains-General combine and carry their commands with them, as in the present instance, then there is no equal armed force in the country to oppose them. Theoretically, the civil administration controls the police, but in time of stress they are liable to lose such control and be superseded by a Military Governor. The last two appointments are political, unlike the Captaincy-General, which is purely military.

The police forces differ greatly in morale, and comprise (a) the Guardia Civil, patrolling the villages, roads, railroads, and the country-side generally; (b) the state town police, recruited in Madrid and disseminated among the principal towns; (c) the detective service; and (d) the Carabineros, whose special duty it is to prevent smuggling.

The Guardia Civil as individuals are a superior type of men to the other units of the police and army. They have large responsibilities and consequently are carefully selected for their intelligence, bravery, and good character. Most of them have been in the army. As a body the Guardia Civil live up to their reputation. They generally go about in pairs—an older man representing wisdom, and a younger one representing energy. The Guardia Civil are highly respected in the country, because, among other reasons, if they call on anyone to halt it is death if he doesn't.

Spain is very proud of her *benemerita* (well-merited) as they are familiarly called, but has not the same regard for the other police forces owing to a feeling that the latter are in some way connected with the professional politicians of Madrid. Some of the large towns of Spain go so far as to disregard the state town police sent to them from Madrid and appoint their own municipal police. Consequently one may see state and municipal police patrolling the same street, yet disregarding each other's existence. Owing to the Bolshevik troubles in Barcelona and Bilbao, the numbers of the Guardia Civil have lately been increased from 17,000 to 40,000 men. With a better organized state and municipal police there would be no necessity for Spain to maintain any army at all, so far as her internal security is concerned, since, taking slight interest in foreign politics, she has little to fear from her neighbors—France across the Pyrenees and Britain across the neutral way on the Rock of Gibraltar. The army exists only to continue the endless war in Morocco and to garrison the penal settlement of Río de Oro in West Africa.

In the recent crisis, the then Government, which was placed in power by a coalition of Liberal parties under the leadership of Señor García Prieto (Marqués de Alhucemas), found itself opposed and challenged by all the military forces of Spain. It was doubtful if the Government could even rely on the police, much less the public; yet it counseled the King to depose the military leaders, which it was unable to do itself. Had he followed their advice, it probably would have led to civil war.

The more important objects of the military rising were to get rid of the professional politicians in Madrid, to bring finality to the endless war in Morocco, to suppress Bolshevism in Spain, and to repress the Separatist movement in the north.

How the Rising Came About

On the evening of Tuesday, September 12, 1923, the Government of Spain received information, although incomplete, that the various garrisons were being sounded by General Primo de Rivera (Marqués de Estella), Captain-General of the fourth region with headquarters in Barcelona, as to impeaching certain members of the cabinet and removing the latter as a body from office. General Aizpuru, Minister of War, was immediately instructed to communicate



MARQUES DE ALHUCEMAS

(Head of the government against which the military uprising was directed; Premier since December, 1922)

with these centers and ascertain their attitude towards the Government.

The replies were not entirely satisfactory. A cabinet meeting was hastily called to determine whether or not they should divest the Captain-General of Catalonia of his post, and it was ultimately decided to do so. The Minister of War was directed to indicate to General Primo de Rivera that it was desirable he should resign his position, before the Government took other measures. The latter promptly replied: "Not only am I not presenting my resignation, but from this hour I shall remove the ministers from office, proclaim a state of war, and appeal to the country with a manifesto." He then gave instructions to his troops to seize the telephone and telegraph lines, likewise the electric, gas, water and wireless stations and all the strategical points in or around Barcelona. Subsequently he advised the other Captains-General throughout Spain of the measures which he had deemed it necessary to take in view of the Government's attitude toward himself. The military rising was consequently precipitated some two or three days earlier than had been arranged.

General Primo de Rivera then issued a



GENERAL PRIMO DE RIVERA

(Leader of the bloodless military revolt in Spain; now, in effect, Dictator)

manifesto to the country and army, and gave orders for the civil governors within his jurisdiction to be deposed and their places taken by military officers. The garrison of Zaragoza responded, and General Sanjurjo, the military governor, took over the civil administration of the province. Bilbao likewise signified its adherence to the movement.

The Government in Madrid held agitated conferences all night and contemplated sending the fleet to Barcelona and bringing old General Weyler back from Majorca to assume the chief military command. One of Spain's best warships, the *España*, lies wrecked on the coast of Morocco, and the attitude of the navy was doubtful. Thereupon, they ordered the seizure of telegraph and telephone lines not already in possession of the leaders of the revolt, to impede the garrisons communicating with each other. But communication had already taken place, and the only result was to isolate Madrid temporarily.

At 5.45 a.m. on September 13, the Government informed the press of the situation in Barcelona, and stated that other military forces were disposed to follow in the same road of "rebellion." They concluded by

saying that the King would arrive that day from San Sebastian.

The public of Barcelona and Madrid obtained the first news of these events from the morning papers. About mid-day the Madrid newspaper *El Sol* (The Sun) came out with a "Suplemento Extraordinario," which was eagerly bought up. It announced that its representative had interviewed that morning the leaders in Madrid of the movement which the Government had designated "sedition," and that these leaders were now known to be General Cavalcanti of the cavalry brigade and Generals Saro, Daban, and D. Federico Berenguer, commanding the three infantry brigades, all with headquarters in Madrid. *El Sol* gave an interesting interview with one of these leaders, which indicated that the military in Madrid seconded the movement in Barcelona "until the arrival of the King."

The Government meanwhile had asked General Muñoz Cobos, Captain-General of Madrid, to report on the attitude of the troops under his command. The only satisfaction he gave them was that the troops would maintain order. All during the day advices arrived that other garrisons in Spain were adopting the same attitude as Madrid—adherence to the movement started in Barcelona "until the arrival of the King."

The scene now changes to Madrid, where everyone looked to Don Alfonso to determine the issue upon his arrival in the capital.

King Alfonso Ends the Crisis

Don Alfonso did not make any public move until the situation had clearly defined itself. He arrived in Madrid a day later than expected. His train steamed in at 9 a.m. on September 14, driven by the Duke of Zaragoza—a nobleman whose hobby it is to drive locomotives. Some half an hour earlier the Captain-General of Madrid arrived on the platform and, contrary to all precedents, gave the police their instructions in lieu of the civil authorities. To prevent any untoward incident, it had been arranged that no military officers should be present except those who ordinarily attended to receive the King. Only the members of the Government and the customary officials were admitted.

The King alighted from the train, attired in the uniform of a Captain-General, greeted the President of the Council and

saluted the members of the Government. The Captain-General of Madrid then requested an hour's interview, and the Monarch indicated 11 a.m. as convenient.

At the Palace, the Marqués de Alhucemas put the following recommendations of the cabinet before the King:

(1) That General Primo de Rivera of Barcelona and General Sanjurjo of Zaragoza be dismissed;

(2) That the other generals implicated in the Movement be removed to other commands, and

(3) That Parliament be immediately convened to consider the charges made by General Primo de Rivera against the Government.

The King replied that he would require time to consider the matter. The President of the Council thereupon handed him the resignation of his ministry.

The Captain-General of Madrid had a long interview with the King at 11 a.m., and left the Palace to return later accompanied by Generals Cavalcanti, Saro, Daban, and D. Federico Berenguer. During his absence, the King had spoken over the telephone with General Primo de Rivera, 350 miles away in Barcelona, and was advised by the latter to proclaim martial law throughout Spain as a precautionary measure.

At 1.15 p.m. the King sent the Captain-General of Madrid to inform the President of the Council that he had accepted the resignation of the Government, that he had asked General Primo de Rivera to form a new cabinet, that while it was being formed the government of the country would be carried on by a directory comprising Generals Cavalcanti, Saro, Daban, and D. F. Berenguer under the presidency of the Captain-General of Madrid, and that a state of war would be proclaimed throughout Spain that afternoon.

Spain was without a Government, yet absolute quiet reigned throughout the country.

The Curse of Spain

Now a recital of these events conveys little to one's intelligence unless backed with knowledge of what has gone before, and of the state in which Spain finds herself to-day. Don Alfonso XIII is a constitutional monarch and has no dreams of a bi-trary power. He is level-headed; and be it remembered that he kept his country out

of the Great War, and deserves well of his country for so doing. His father came to the throne by means of such another military *pronunciamiento* as the one under discussion, and this pronouncement was the fruit of a compromise mutually arranged between the leaders of the two main political parties in Spain of that day. The country prior to that was a republic, which had driven out the religious orders.

The principal provision of the *Convenio* was that each political party was to hold the reins of government alternatively, and then make way for the other party. This *Convenio* has been the curse of Spain ever since. It meant that each party must take over the maladministration of its predecessor without question and carry on. The arrangement, however immoral, has been faithfully adhered to by both Liberals and Conservatives until the present crisis arose. It naturally lent itself to political graft, patronage, and corruption. The elections were a farce connived at by both parties, and voting was to order. As each party went into office, so likewise did their followers; and sufficient profit had to be gained in the years of plenty to see them through the lean ones which must necessarily follow. The professional politicians of Madrid and their methods became a by-word throughout Spain.

Attitude of the Public

The people were sick of the war in Morocco, with its remorseless drain upon the country's resources, and they did not know what their kindred were fighting for. The army had lost patience with politicians who did not want the war to end, who did not supply them with the means to win the war, yet made them the scapegoats for all that occurred. The people had no political machinery wherewith to remedy this state of affairs, neither had the King. Now the generals of the army, as "a bolt from the blue," have stepped in to save Spain. It will take much time and patience, but a beginning is helpful. It is more essential to have honest men at the head of affairs than clever ones. The army has not always seen eye to eye with the people, but on this occasion it seems to have done so.

No one has been more surprised at the bloodless victory over far-reaching corruption than the Spaniard himself who knows existing conditions in his own country. If General Primo de Rivera is able to carry out

his program, or even the main planks of it, then the rebirth of Spain will commence. He disclaims any idea of understudying Mussolini, but there is little doubt that the Mussolini movement in Italy had its repercussion in Spain, where conditions were much the same and where also a strong hand was required.

When the news first startled Madrid, the attitude of the man in the street was one of sober thought rather than of excitement or inclination to talk. An American or British crowd would have been much more perturbed. The troops were confined to barracks. Such officers as had occasion to be in the streets were mostly unarmed, and their countenances reflected a happy state of mind. On the morning of the King's arrival, the public showed much more animation and expectancy, yet not such as we are told by writers to expect from the Spanish temperament. Their attitude indicated rather suppressed eagerness to learn the vital decisions to be made that day, than a desire to participate in them. Spain evidently is satisfied with her sovereign and has never shown it so markedly as on this occasion.

A Spaniard's Opinion of His Countrymen

About a month or so ago there was a scene in the Spanish Senate, and another in the room of the President of the Council, in which General Aquilera, President of the Supreme Tribunal of War and Marine, figured prominently. Many people held the opinion at the time that the General was right in his contention, but owing to his innocence of parliamentary usage the political leaders of both parties got the better of him. He so far forgot himself, however, as to tell the Senate that the country was behind him and if they would not heed his words then an "outside force" might compel them to do so. This is interesting in view of current events.

On his arrival in Madrid from Ciudad Real, the reporters endeavored to ascertain the views of General Aquilera on the recent crisis, but he declined to be interviewed. He made some remarks about his countrymen, however, which are not without interest.

He spoke about the insensibility and abstention of public opinion in Spain, and said that in other times, in 1868, when analogous events occurred, his own father and all the followers of Isabella passionately inter-

vened. Then, he said, they had sensibility. Afterwards came the lethargy which carried Spain to disaster. The phrase of Silvela (the High Commissioner in Morocco) that "Spain had no pulse," although uttered upon another occasion, was perfectly applicable to the present. General Aquilera further stated that Spain had not reacted to disasters for many years.

In Cuba, he continued, when blockaded by the American forces, they, the defenders, eagerly scanned the Spanish newspapers to see if the people at home were animated by the same emotions as the army; and to their grief they saw that the greater part of these periodicals was given over to reviewing bull-fights. To this lack of reflection on the part of the nation in the efforts of the army may be attributed the saying of a North American general after the capture of Cuba: "I fear that this lesson may not be enough for Spain; yet, if it should be enough, then that country would be able to become great." Since then nothing has changed. The same men have continued to govern, save only those fallen by death. Such a thing would not occur in any other country traversed by disaster.

Effect of Spanish-American War on Spain

The immediate effect of the Spanish-American war on Spain was to ruin the sea-ports of Santander and Cadiz, from which lines of steamers had run to Cuba and the Philippines respectively, and these ports have never recovered their former prosperity. The after-effects, however, were beneficial to Spain. Had America desired to do a kindly action to Spain, it could not better have served that end than by taking away the Spanish colonies from the mother country. These were a source of profit to the officials sent out to administer them, but a heavy drain upon Spain herself in men and money. Once this incubus was removed Spain went ahead and prospered, until in an unhappy hour they repeated the same mistake and acquired Morocco as a colony. The result was much the same, except that the profiteers were in Madrid rather than in the colony. The American General quoted by General Aquilera was right when he said that if Spain had learned her lesson from Cuba, she might become a great country. She has not learned it, but is now beginning to learn it, and there is hope.

During the Great War, Spain brought out an internal loan, and it was rapidly

subscribed fourteen times over. Then Spain had confidence in her Government. Then Spain was prosperous, and it seemed at the moment that she had better prospects of rapid material advancement than any other country in Europe. Untouched by the Great War, with a country equal in size to France but with half the population, self-contained and with adequate capital, she seemed the favorite of fortune among the nations of Europe. Yet, after the war she was unable to stand up to foreign competition, and bad government did the rest. The present condition of Spain is appropriately indicated by the foreign exchanges. Spain had lost confidence in her Government, so had the money markets abroad. Now comes the reaction."

Spanish Morocco

The Spanish army exists largely on paper—the official returns are unreliable. The politicians can best explain why this is so. The disaster in Morocco in July, 1921, was due to untrained and undisciplined recruits, incompetent leaders, and corruption at Madrid. The army has vastly improved since then, but so also has that of the Moors. The Spanish army to-day feels that it ought to have been given an honest chance to retrieve the disaster of Annual, and that its honor is committed to regaining that line as a matter of prestige. That end attained, the army, like the country, feels that the rocks of Morocco are not worth the bones of a Spanish *soldado*.

The professional politicians in Madrid, however, thought otherwise. There were known to be valuable iron ore deposits in Spanish Morocco which could be worked more economically than those at Bilbao; and much was made, at the time of the furthest advance, of the fact that an old copper mine had been captured. There stood profit in sight to someone.

Two of the Old Officials

The resentment of the army was most bitter against Don Santiago Alba, one of the Liberal leaders, for his attitude in regard to Morocco; and this was the immediate cause of the rising, although far from being the complete cause. During the Great War, Señor Alba overthrew the government of the Conde de Ramonones because the latter proposed to confiscate the German ships, which had sought refuge in the harbors of Spain, as retaliation for the sinking



DON SANTIAGO ALBA

(An indirect cause of the old régime's downfall; Foreign Minister in the recent government; now an exile in France)

of Spanish ships. Yet the recent crisis found them both holding office in the coalition Liberal government of the Marqués de Alhucemas—Señor Alba as Foreign Minister, and the Conde de Ramonones as President of the Senate.

When that event occurred Señor Alba was in attendance on the King at San Sebastian close to the French frontier; and, without previously consulting with his colleagues in the Government, he tendered his resignation to the King, who accepted it. Forewarned that General Primo de Rivera had given orders for his arrest and that process had been opened against him, he fled across the French frontier to Biarritz in such a hurry that he left all his confidential papers behind on the table of his office, and his secretary had to take them after him.

The Marqués de Alhucemas has written General Primo de Rivera to say that he will hold himself ready to meet any charges brought against him.

The New Régime

The Marqués de Estella had a great reception on his arrival in Madrid on September 15. The new régime took shape when the King signed several decrees.



GENERAL CAVALCANTI

(Cavalry leader, and one of Rivera's four associates in overthrowing the political régime)

These were to the effect that the constitutional guarantees of 1876 are suspended; Congress and the elected portion of the Senate are dissolved; General Primo de Rivera becomes President of the Military Directorate and sole chief of the administration; the premiership and all the ministries are done away with except those of Foreign Affairs and War; the senior civil servants take charge of the various departments of state for the time being; all the provincial civil governors are dismissed and their places taken by military officers at lesser salaries; the Military Directorate is enlarged to embrace general officers from each of the ten military commands in Spain; the resignation of the government of Marqués de Alhucemas is accepted; Señor Silvela, High Commissioner for Morocco, is dismissed; General Aizpuru, late Minister of War in the deposed cabinet, is appointed Commander-in-Chief and High Commissioner in Morocco; Somatén (town guards) are to be enrolled in all Spain.

It is made a crime to engage in Separatism, in propaganda against Spain, or to use other than the national flags. All employees in government departments must be in their offices punctually at 9 a.m. and stay

until 2 p.m., strangers are forbidden entry, and an office is to be opened where anyone may lodge complaints, which are to be examined and decided expeditiously. There was commotion in the government offices, where some employees attended office for only a short time and others not at all. Those who drew salaries from more than one department were in a quandary how to present themselves simultaneously at their different offices.

It is understood that a new Parliament will be elected shortly, when a fresh constitution will be drawn up.

Races and Languages in Spain

The people of Spain are not all of one race, nor do they all speak the same language. They are rather a federation of races brought together in the consolidation of modern Spain. The language of the Basques is not understood by any other Spaniard, nor by anyone else except their own kindred on the French side of the Pyrenees. The spoken language of Galicia relates more to Portuguese than to Castillana, the official language of Spain. The Catalans in the North-East Province are tenacious of their own language. In former days, they occupied a large portion of eastern Languedoc in the south of France, as well as the Spanish province, but to-day there are only about 70,000 Catalans on the French side in and around the town of Perpignan. Barcelona is the capital of Spanish Cataluña and has a population of about 1,000,000.

What we are accustomed to call the Spanish language is Castillana, the language of Castile, spoken in the center and south of Spain. It was originally the spoken language of the Roman soldiers and magistrates in Spain, which grew up alongside, but independent of, classic Latin. Since then many Arab words have been incorporated in it, and in more recent times it has drawn on French analogies of expression. Owing to its use throughout South America, Mexico, and the greater part of Spain, it is of necessity the one vehicle by which the other races of the peninsula can communicate with each other, unless they use French.

The Somatén

There has long existed in Cataluña an ancient custom to enroll the more reliable elements in each community as a town guard. In ancient times it was for defense

against an enemy; in modern times, to give aid against criminals and to pursue them. It was a body of Somatén who first ambushed and defeated the troops of Napoleon in the hills of Manresa near Barcelona. About fifty years ago they were officially recognized by the military, and the Captain-General of Barcelona became their chief, otherwise their organization was not changed. The word *Somatén* means: "We are ready and alert." Their motto is *Paz, paz e siempre paz* (Peace, peace, and always peace). The Somatén are not concerned with politics, although their membership includes adherents of all political parties. Their aim entirely is to stand for public order, and to aid in maintaining it.

General Primo de Rivera, their present chief and leader of the military rising, has obtained the King's decree extending the Somatén organization to all Spain and authorizing enlistment in the other provinces. In this way he hopes to raise 400,000 men for internal security. This obviously means a striking force to deal with the excesses of the Bolshevik movement in Spain and to cope with any attempt to bring about a general strike throughout the country.

The appointment of General Martinez Anido as Under-Secretary to the Home Office is even more significant. Three years ago, when the Syndicalists commenced assassinating the owners and managers of the factories in and around Barcelona, General Martinez Anido, who was then Civil Governor, called out the Somatén and armed them. He dealt so severely with the movement that in the end he terrified the terrorists.

When the Liberal government of the Marqués de Alhucemas came into power, some eighteen months ago, they declared that it was against their principles to countenance such methods as General Martinez



GENERAL MARTINEZ ANIDO

(Who, as Under Secretary of Home Affairs in the new government, has taken up once more his leadership of the Somatén, or "home guards")

Anido had adopted, and they replaced him. Terrorism then recommenced in Barcelona, and has prevailed for the last six months. Juries were intimidated, and few convictions obtained even on the clearest evidence. Now the new rulers of Spain have suspended the jury system, and all cases of violence or robbery under arms will be dealt with by court-martial.

The application of the Somatén organization to the whole of Spain has flattered the Catalans, the most industrious but also the most politically restless of the various peoples comprised in the Kingdom of Spain.



FINANCING THE NEW IRELAND

BY ALZADA COMSTOCK

THE visitor to southern Ireland to-day finds the country in a mood of earnest self-examination which seems immeasurably far removed from the fevers of 1917 or 1920. In Dublin, great modern buildings are gradually taking the places of the ruins and the bullet-spattered structures of three years ago. In the shadow of one of the few untouched reminders of the Easter Rebellion, the shell of the Post Office, is a showroom of the movement for "Greater Dublin," with its terminal, park, and street improvements projected on a grand scale. Experts have been put to work on problems of agrarian development, poor-law administration, and transportation improvement. In Dublin Castle, overworked officials are wrestling with one of the most difficult problems of all, the provision of the ways and means of conducting the Free State as an independent area, and a special commission is at work on the financial policies of the future.

Questions of national finance were curiously obscured in the recent general election in the Irish Free State, although the Dublin government had already begun to feel the burden of a debt. Probably it was to the government's advantage to postpone the discussion until it should be returned to power, but its opponents' indifference was no more and no less than a lack of interest. The Irishman's genius has always lain in the active field of practical politics, rather than in the duller hinterland of fiscal analysis; and the Free State officials may have a long task of public education to perform before the new state can be put on a permanently self-supporting basis.

Remaking a Financial System

Financing a new state which has been split off from an older one has never proved to be an easy task. Financial traditions and habits have unexpectedly deep roots, and a people which is at odds with its former government racially, culturally, and socially,

and which sheds the unpopular governmental ties as easily as an old skin, may still cling awkwardly to the financial traditions of the older order. The succession states of the former Austrian Empire have spent much of their energy in these last years in trying to revise and reform the fiscal currency, and banking systems of the former empire, and even now seem to have made few fundamental changes.

Ireland's task was fortunately a far simpler one, at least at the outset. The parent state had no disabilities of debt or currency to pass on; and it may be said to have been in a benevolent mood toward the Free State, still united with it by the ties of the British Commonwealth of Nations. More specifically, the Free State began its career with no internal indebtedness except the obligation to pay for pre-Truce damages to property, and with its external obligations represented principally by a (probably mythical) share of England's war debt. With the Free State Government alone lay the financial fortunes of southern Ireland.

The transition was made as smooth as possible. Obviously the officials of the troubled first months of 1922 had far more urgent tasks than the transformation of the fiscal system or the training of revenue officials. Accordingly an agreement called the "Working Arrangements for Implementing the Treaty" was made with Great Britain in January, 1922, providing that—pending legislation by the Free State—taxes should be collected on the same principles and at the same rates as in England; and also providing that the entire revenue machinery of the British system in Ireland was to keep its wheels moving until the Free State Government should arrange to replace it.

On April 1, 1922, the formal transfer of the financial administration took place and the Free State entered upon its first fiscal year, but, in pursuance of the plan, the greater part of the routine work remained

in the hands of the men of the former British service. One year later, on April 1, 1923, the Free State opened its second fiscal year by setting up a separate customs barrier and so taking one more step in the direction of financial independence.

Difficulties of Transplantation

Although the financial system which Ireland inherited in this way had proved to be admirably adapted to the needs of Great Britain, its suitability for Ireland as an independent unit is open to question. For some years Great Britain has derived the greater part of her revenue from a group of direct taxes among which the income tax occupies the most important place. England is an industrial country where money incomes and property holdings are relatively large, and the success of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in drawing a large part of the revenue from direct taxation is contingent on these circumstances. But the Free State is largely an agricultural country, with small money incomes and small property holdings, and the transplanted English tax rates have already produced quite different results. Large incomes, being rare, have paid relatively little in taxes. In the first fiscal year the direct taxes formed only about one-fifth of the Free State revenue, while indirect taxes amounted to four-fifths.

These results are bound to be disturbing in some quarters. The Free State—a country in which the small farmers and tradesmen have expected to come into their own, after years under a British tax system which is commonly believed to have been oppressive—is now shown to be relying upon indirect taxation, the curse of the poor! What is to be done? A revision upward of the income and death duties would penalize the well-to-do Irishman, as compared with his English brother, far beyond anyone's desire; for the English rates are already very high, and this is not the hour to make Ireland an unpleasant place to live in. And yet, apparently in partial obliviousness of the consequences, spokesmen of Irish labor have already begun to cry out for an increase in direct taxation.

In the slight variations from the English policy, which the Free State has already made, the two groups of taxes fare alike. The Free State kept a standard income-tax rate of five shillings in the pound for 1923-'24, while the British Government reduced the rate by sixpence; and the Free State

held to the beer tax of the previous year when the British Government reduced it by 24 shillings a barrel for 1923-'24. The reluctance to reduce the beer duty is fully understandable. Dublin contains the great brewery of Guinness & Co., whose output is greater than that of the next two largest breweries in the world combined, and which has paid one-tenth of the beer duty levied in the United Kingdom in recent years. It occupies an even more important position among the Free State's taxpayers.

Setting Up the Customs Barrier

In establishing itself as a separate customs area on April 1, 1923, the Free State placed itself in much the same relationship with Great Britain that the other British Dominions have worked out. Unfortunately, the economic results of the plan have had too little attention. For the time being the British schedule of customs was continued, and minor adjustments—such as that of the duty on motor cars—are constantly under discussion. Larger issues, in particular the suitability of a protective system for a small agricultural country like Ireland, have been somewhat neglected in the stress of political events. The customs receipts have been consistently smaller than the excise receipts, and reductions or improvements in the customs revenue could undoubtedly be made without seriously affecting the treasury, in the course of a more accurate adaptation of the customs policy to Ireland's economic needs.

Free State Expenditures

The total of the revenue items is placed at £26,000,000 in the Free State budget for 1923-'24. Opposite this figure is set a total contemplated expenditure of £46,000,000. The largest item in the expenditure list is that for the army £10,600,000. An expenditure of more than one-fifth for military purposes is a large one, even in these days of delayed disarmament, and it is £3,000,000 larger than the corresponding figure in the Free State budget for the previous year. The officials deprecate the large military force, but they declare that it is necessary to keep order in Ireland at any cost. After a few months, they say, the necessity for a large armed force will disappear, and they believe that the next budget will show a considerably smaller expenditure for this purpose. The requirements for compensation for property losses

are also above £10,000,000. Education, the third item in importance, is just under £4,000,000.

The Growing Deficit

The Free State deficit—or, in the words of the official estimates, the “amount to be found by borrowing, or otherwise, to cover expenditure”—is almost £20,000,000. The provision of this amount is the most urgent financial matter with which the Free State has to deal. The operations of the first fiscal year produced a deficit of only £4,000,000, met by temporary borrowing. This method is plainly inadequate for the more serious emergency to be met during the current year.

President Cosgrave apparently plans to float a large loan, probably of £25,000,000. On its face this is a simple project, for, if offered externally, it would undoubtedly be taken on acceptable terms by London bankers. But all the signs point to the extreme undesirability of an external loan, particularly a British one. It would be a sure way of alienating from the present Government its half-hearted supporters on the fringe of the Republican ranks, and of furnishing evidence for the allegation that the Free State Government is under the thumb of the English.

A true political sense will lead the Government to rely on an internal loan. Here again there are difficulties which do not appear on the surface. The Irish farmers have sufficient capital, both in the form of bank deposits and in foreign investments; but their practical attitude on a Free State loan is untested. It is said that an Irishman will fight, suffer imprisonment and exile, and die for his country, but that he will not invest in it. Such, at least, is the fear of those who know the investment prejudices of the prosperous Irish farmer. If the Government tries to borrow internally it must, therefore, use its utmost skill in establishing its political position in the eyes of the prospective investors.

A Fiscal Inquiry Committee

Difficult as it may prove to be to bring about the average Irishman's full understanding of the problems of national finance which the new Government must face, the sober self-examination which is characteristic of the Free State of to-day has begun to show itself even in this field. In June of this year the President announced the

appointment of a Fiscal Inquiry Committee, which is given very general powers of inquiry. Its terms of reference are as follows:

To investigate and report—

(a) *as to the effect of the existing fiscal system, and of any measures regulating or restricting imports or exports, on industry and agriculture in the Saorstát (Free State), and*

(b) *as to the effect of any changes therein intended to foster the development of industry and agriculture,*

with due regard to the interests of the general community and to the economic relations of the Saorstát with other countries.

The Government announced that it had assured the impartiality of the committee and had definitely avoided a suggestion made in the Dail that the inquiry should be made by “business men affected every day by the operation of the present fiscal system.” It was stated emphatically that “the Committee is not intended to be an instrument by which beneficially interested parties can secure the acceptance of particular doctrines; its purpose, on the contrary, is to secure a disinterested, balanced, and exhaustive analysis of a complex problem on which the future of the whole country largely depends.”

In carrying out its express intention of appointing a committee of disinterested experts, the Free State Government named a body composed, with one exception, of university and college professors.

The committee is under no compulsion to make a hurried report. A short interim report made late in July occasioned minor changes in the customs schedule, but the main report is not to be made until the committee has given careful and impartial examination to the fiscal system.

The Financial Future

Two signs point to a successful financial solution for the Free State Government, in spite of the difficulties under which it now struggles. One is the existence of the committee which has just been described and the clear-headed recognition of the issues which lay behind its appointment. The other is the verdict of the experts that if the present emergency, with its deficit, can be tidied over, there is no economic reason why Ireland should not be able to support itself financially without burdensome taxation. If this is so, it is quite conceivable that before many years the rôle of Ireland may be transformed into one of financial ease and independence.

LLOYD GEORGE ON HIS NATIVE HEATH

BY DWIGHT B. HEARD

THE present visit of Mr. Lloyd George to America reminds me of a notable event in Great Britain in 1911, in which I saw this powerful dynamo of progressive English energy in action.

The occasion was the investiture of the young Prince of Wales, Edward Albert (now visiting Canada under the incognito of Lord Renfrew), with the emblems of authority at the ancient Castle Carnarvon in Wales. It was the revival of a ceremony which was instituted back in the Thirteenth Century when King Edward [I] built this wonderful castle on the shores of the Irish Sea, and, appearing in chain mail, presented from one of the balconies to his turbulent Welsh subjects his newly born son as the Prince of Wales.

At the revival of this ceremony in 1911, which I had the pleasure of attending, was Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer of England—the man who was initiating the great constructive Liberal policies which were equalizing the burdens of the people in England, and who also happened to be the representative in Parliament from the Borough of Carnarvon. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was his duty, after the custom of the United Kingdom, to present, on the occasion of this investiture of the young Prince, the golden keys of Carnarvon Castle to King George.

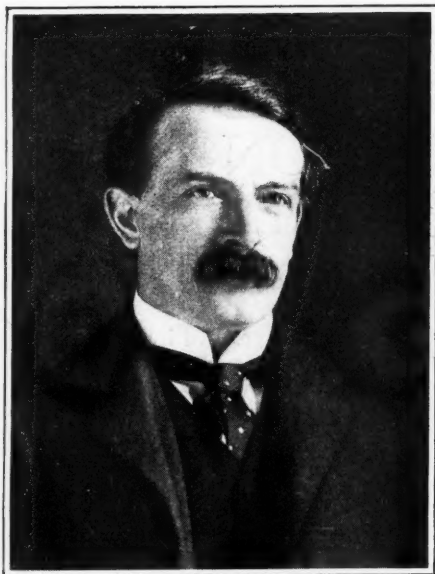
It was a brilliant and stimulating day. Inside the grim walls of the picturesque medieval castle was gathered a cross-section of English life. At one end of the great courtyard of the castle was raised the dais on which sat King George and Queen Mary, surrounded by the great functionaries of state. Back of them were grouped 500 of the Welsh singers in the picturesque ancient Welsh costume—high, black hats, white collars, and red cloaks. The aisle leading from the entrance of the castle up

to this dais was guarded by halberdiers in the costume of Henry the VIII—known as “beef-eaters.” The young Edward Albert now touring America was then a bonny English lad, manifestly beloved of the crowd, and wearing the natty uniform of a British midshipman.

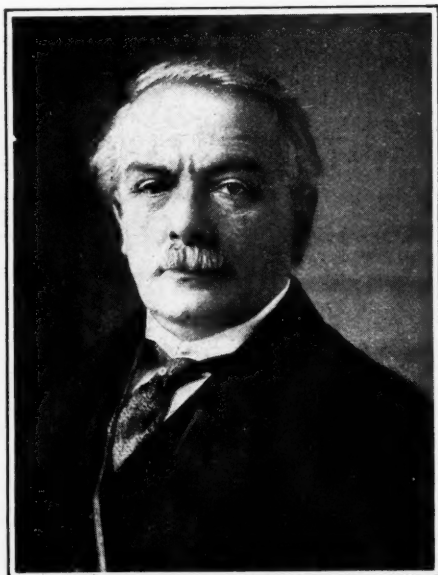
Lloyd George, the idol of the Welsh, in the ceremonial court costume, met the King at the postern gate, and together they walked to the dais. The enthusiasm for the gray-headed little Welshman, who was then practically the dictator of the policies of Great Britain, was enormous; and as they reached the dais and were seated, the great choir sang, with tremendous impressiveness, in the Welsh language, the Lord's Prayer—the assemblage, including the leading Protestant and Catholic peers of England, bowing in reverence.

It was very interesting to me on this occasion to get in touch with various phases of English thought. The impressive thing was that while many disliked Lloyd George, and criticized his policies, nearly everyone respected him and looked upon him as the one man who had the ability to blaze a straight trail toward better conditions in the British Empire.

One of the finest things about Lloyd George is that he always brings with him a message of faith. He points the way forward to constructive and worthwhile movements which mean the betterment of mankind. And while he is a sturdy fighter and has the habit of throwing barbs into his political antagonists perhaps too freely, the big causes for which he fights are always those of progress, equal opportunity and finer standards of human welfare. His hearty concurrence, as Great Britain's Premier, in the principles of the Washington Disarmament Conference is an indication of this fine type of mind.



AS PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE
(His first cabinet post—1905)



AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS
(As Prime Minister—1919)



ON VACATION IN WALES, WITH HIS WIFE
(As Chancellor of the Exchequer—1913)



AN EARLY PICTURE, AT HOME, AS A RISING
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AT VARIOUS STAGES OF HIS PUBLIC CAREER
(From photographs in the files of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS)

LLOYD GEORGE—THE MAN

BY FRANK DILNOT

[Mr. Dilnot, as our readers well know, is an English journalist who writes with intimate personal knowledge. He is author of a life of Lloyd George. This sketch was sent in advance of the British statesman's arrival on our American shores.—THE EDITOR]

THE former Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Lloyd George, combines the freakish simplicity of a boy with the subtlety of Machiavelli—that is why he is at once so fascinating and so exasperating. He is a delightfully simple-minded soul, full of the joy of life, and the most skilled organizer and the best judge of men that British politics has produced for more than a generation. He will have had a thrilling time in America because he retains an ardent love for new experiences, likes to sharpen his mind with fresh people, to analyze unexpected emotions; and he has continually indicated that to him America is a great new fairyland.

He left England hoping to talk to American statesmen, to see American plays, to hear American preachers, to play on American golf courses; and every day he will have given the impression, quite naturally and without effort, and quite sincerely, too, that the particular experience enwraps him completely. Many people in Britain abuse him, but all are unconsciously proud of him when he goes abroad because he is our solitary exponent of the "live wire." He will tell good stories and smoke a big cigar, wittily refuse to drink American whisky, and demand, among other things, to be taken to some of America's famous trout streams.

The Man's Dramatic Story

It is an interesting problem as to how this strong personality will strike the American people, who beyond all others are experts in personality. They will have before



HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, WITH MRS. LLOYD GEORGE AND THEIR DAUGHTER MEGAN

them a white-haired man with a boy's laughing eyes and a boy's quickness of speech. A past-master in European statecraft, he will take upon himself the part of receptive student in a new world; and, make no mistake about it, he will learn a great deal, while in America, whether he lets it be known or not. It is to be hoped that he will not always be encompassed by hospitable formality, that he will not be driven to too many set speeches, and that he will enter such circles as will encourage his power of story-telling. Americans love a good raconteur. Lloyd George

is one of the best story-tellers living, but he has to be in congenial surroundings before he lets himself go.

Of course, his whole life is a dramatic narrative. At three years old he was left fatherless. His mother, with a small farm on her hands, had to sell everything she possessed to pay her debts, and then she went up from the south of Wales to the north, to a little village, Llanystumdwy, to live with her brother, an old bachelor shoemaker. He kept them for years. There was little food for the family, meat being a luxury to be obtained only once or twice a week. Lloyd George has told me himself how his mother, to give her two little boys a treat, used to provide them with half an egg each for breakfast on Sunday morning.

A Hard-Earned Education

When he was about twelve and his future had to be thought of, the old shoemaker, who by diligent saving of a few shillings a week for a long period of years had amassed a sum of about £200, decided to invest it in furthering the education of his nephew, who otherwise might have been fated to work in the fields as a farm laborer. David Lloyd George was a mischievous young dare-devil, not studious at school, but nevertheless always at the top of his class. He responded to his uncle's sacrifice by passing rapidly the preliminary examinations. He had to fling himself into the job because even with his uncle's savings there was not any superfluity of means. The old shoemaker took upon himself the task of learning the elements of Latin and French in order to help forward the boy's education. When at twenty-one he became a fully-qualified lawyer, there was not enough money left in the little family to buy the gown necessary for him to appear in the local courts. Three pounds (\$15) was necessary, and Lloyd George went to work as a clerk in an office and earned the money.

A Contest with the Established Church

A thousand stories are related of young George in the next few years building himself up a small business as a lawyer in a country district and at the same time securing practice as a public speaker at political meetings, church gatherings, and debating societies. He was always for the poor; fought desperately, ruthlessly, and earned the hatred of the rich landed proprietors in the district, whom he challenged

on every occasion. He was about twenty-four when an incident occurred which brought him into wide prominence in Wales. In a village at the foot of Snowdon an old quarryman, a devout Methodist, on his deathbed asked that he might be buried by the side of his sister, a Church of England woman who lay in the graveyard of the Established Church of England. The rector, a bigoted man, refused permission because the old quarryman was a Methodist, and the angry villagers went to young Lloyd George to ask his advice. He studied up the law of the matter and told them to take the body to the churchyard and if the rector locked the gates against them to break down the gates, carry the body in and bury it. They followed his advice. There was a tremendous scandal; a lawsuit was instituted by the Church authorities and the villagers on a point of law were defeated in the local court. Young Lloyd George promptly took the case to the Supreme Court in London, where the Lord Chief Justice and other judges decided that he was right and that the Church authorities were wrong. From that time Lloyd George became a national figure in Wales.

Fighting Joseph Chamberlain at Birmingham

At twenty-seven, still very poor, he was selected as the Liberal candidate to fight for the constituency known as Carnarvon Boroughs, which to that time had never returned anybody to Parliament but a rich Conservative landlord. Lloyd George was successful and the man he beat was the local squire to whom, as a little boy going to school, he had touched his hat as a mark of respect.

That is the beginning of the drama of Lloyd George which was continued in Parliament from that time onward. In the House of Commons he proved himself a guerrilla from whom even the most exalted statesmen were not safe. He cared nothing for unpopularity and when the Boer War came on he was a protagonist among the little band who declared that England was wrong and the Boers were right. Joseph Chamberlain, the pro-war leader and the most prominent figure in the country, suffered under his slings and arrows, and Lloyd George was easily the most hated man of his generation. He reveled in the public animosity. He announced his intention of going to speak at Birmingham, the seat of Joseph Chamberlain, and,

though his friends endeavored to dissuade him, he went down to Chamberlain's city, where he found the Town Hall surrounded by twenty thousand angry men. As soon as he mounted the platform riot broke loose; the Town Hall was wrecked; scores of people were injured; one man was killed; and Lloyd George only escaped with his life by the help of the police, who got him away in disguise. Next day Joseph Chamberlain, crossing the Lobby of the House of Commons, was stopped by a friend.

"So they didn't kill Lloyd George last night?"

"What is everybody's business is nobody's business," replied the mordant Chamberlain.

A Breaker of Precedent

From that time onward Lloyd George was the most interesting personality in the House of Commons, and the interest persisted right through the various stages till he became Prime Minister. He cared nothing for convention; he gleefully broke many ancient constitutional usages. When, in his first Cabinet post as President of the Board of Trade, he was involved in an effort to settle a dispute, he arrived one cold afternoon at the Board of Trade offices and found outside the door a group of waiting reporters.

"What are you doing out here?" he asked.

"We have to wait on until the end, to get the decision, if a decision is arrived at. We are not allowed inside."

"Nonsense," said Lloyd George. "Come right in."

He had a room put at their disposal, sent them in tea and toast and a large box of cigarettes. It was an unheard-of thing for a British Cabinet Minister to do, but it was perfectly typical of the man. Shortly after this there was a big railway accident at Shrewsbury where twenty people were killed. On such occasions it is customary for the Board of Trade to send down an inspector to prepare a report. I was one of the newspaper men early on the scene, and to my surprise found that Lloyd George, throwing away dignity, had traveled down himself to the scene in company with the inspector. I met him in the streets of Shrewsbury in the morning and I asked him, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, whether we could later in the day get the decision of the inspector who was holding an inquiry with witnesses.

"Why, you will be there," he said.

I replied that it was the Government custom to allow no newspaper reporters in at such inquiries, which were strictly private.

"What?" he exclaimed. "With twenty people killed and all the country wanting to know why they have been killed! The inquiry will be open. The newspaper representatives will certainly be admitted."

Another precedent gone. We flocked down to find the dignified inspector in the chair but Lloyd George himself really conducting the inquiry.

A Skilled and Witty Debater

Lloyd George is very apt in debate. I always think of one occasion in Parliament where in a speech of a few words he swept away a long and portentous discussion. Joseph Chamberlain had initiated a movement for Tariff Reform and it was the dominating political question of the day; but when his health failed the life went out of the campaign, although his Conservative colleagues on the Opposition front bench still maintained the fight in a kind of a way. Austen Chamberlain, the son of Joseph Chamberlain, was naturally an enthusiastic leader. In a crowded House of Commons, when the matter came up one day, he made a long, closely reasoned and exceedingly serious speech. This is how Lloyd George replied for the Government, disposing of the matter:

The reasons which have made Mr. Austen Chamberlain a Tariff Reformer are not fiscal but filial. History ever repeats itself, and the boy still stands on the burning deck.

David Lloyd George is one of the rare men who shine in speech on the public platform as well as in Parliament. His repartees are famous, but you cannot get him to talk about them, although he will tell you at least one platform story. It is in connection with what he described as the most interesting introduction a speaker ever had to an audience. In his early days, as a Non-conformist, he was all for the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales. The Bishop of St. Asaph, a great churchman, had been irritating a local community by his propaganda work for the Church of England, and the Free Churchmen sent for young Lloyd George to come down and counteract the Bishop's influence. It was a crowded gathering and the chairman, a venerable bearded Welshman filled

with fervor, introduced the young man in the following manner:

You have lately heard a great many speeches from the Bishop of St. Asaph. He is a great speaker; he is a great personality; he is also a great liar. But, thank God, we have his match here to-night in Mr. Lloyd George.

He began a speech once to a political audience in which there were two or three opponents. He began quietly:

"I am here to-night——"

"So am I," shouted a man at the back.

"Yes," said George, "but you're not all there."

In the early days of the Irish Home Rule controversy, at a meeting in support of it, he declaimed oracularly, "We want Home Rule for Ireland, Home Rule for Scotland, and Home Rule for Wales."

"Yes," shouted a scornful Conservative at the back, "and Home Rule for Hell."

"I am entirely in favor of that," said Lloyd George. "Let every man speak up for his own country."

The Man Outshines the Politician

How Lloyd George broke the influence of the House of Lords, took from the Peers the powers possessed by them for centuries, how in the war he organized first finance, then munitions, and finally as War Minister wrested the reins of government from Mr. Asquith—these are all part and parcel of the story of his personality. Unless you happen to be a party politician the man is much more interesting than his opinions. You may always look for the unexpected in him. Throughout modern political history a retiring Prime Minister has always taken his place on the Opposition Front Bench facing the Government. Lloyd George on going out of office deliberately placed himself on a private Members' Bench below the gangway, leaving the crowded Opposition Front Bench for competition among Asquithian and Labor leaders. Only a man perfectly sure of himself, confident that he was a whale among minnows, would thus relegate himself to comparative obscurity. He can bring himself into prominence whenever he likes by simply rising in his place to make a speech and he has not to suffer the confidences and consultations inseparable from a place on the Front Opposition Bench.

Not a "Deep" Reader

Americans will soon realize some of the minor characteristics of their visitor—his love of motoring, outdoor life and loose clothes. He used to be a rather untidy dresser, but in recent years has become more careful and at times reaches the fringe of smartness. Privately he loves an old tweed suit, slouch hat and heavy boots—a comfortable garb in which he likes to tramp alone over the mountainsides near his home in Wales. He is a great reader of the newspapers, has a pile of them by his bedside before he gets up in the morning. He wants to know what people are thinking—not only his supporters, but his enemies as well. There have been many jokes about Lloyd George's apparent lack of deep reading, as distinct from men like Balfour and Asquith. Clemenceau is credited with one acid comment on the matter. A friend of the then French Prime Minister said disgustedly of Lloyd George, "I don't believe the man is able to read. I don't believe he can read." "He can read," said Clemenceau, "but he never does."

I once asked Lloyd George what were his favorite books for relaxation and he told me historical and romantic novels of action like those of Dumas and Stanley Weyman—a fitting choice for a man who has lived all his life in cut-and-thrust work.

Ever a Pro-American

Mr. Lloyd George has looked forward to his visit to America for years and it is certain that he will enjoy it to the full. He is one of the few Britons thoroughly acquainted with its history, traditions, its temperament and resources. He has been what may be called a pro-American all his life. When, as a young lawyer of twenty-one, he started business, he wrote up over his desk some sentences from Abraham Lincoln as a guide for his ambitions.

He will see many important men in America, but it is certain that he will set out for himself on many a little private expedition to meet the man on the street, in the workshop or on the farm, in order to see and feel for himself the remarkable and distinctive spirit of the private American citizen as compared with the citizen of the older countries.



SCENE OUTSIDE THE SOBRANJE, OR BULGARIAN PARLIAMENT, ON JUNE 9, WHEN THE PEOPLE OF SOFIA ACCLAIMED THE SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

THE BULGARIAN REVOLUTION

SOME OBSERVATIONS OF AN EYE-WITNESS

BY FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES

(President of the University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education;
Editor of the *Educational Review*)

IT LOOKED as if the whole affair had been staged for our especial benefit. When we reached Sofia early one morning in June, the Bulgarian revolution, which had started but a few hours earlier, was already fully in action. All traffic was suspended. The tramways had stopped running, and no carriages or taxicabs were available. The stores and banks had been closed, and no new guests were being received at the hotels. Telegraph, telephone, and mail service had been cut off. No one from the country—not even the purveyors of milk—was being admitted within urban bounds. The streets were thronged, and the city was being guarded by sentries. Up and down the highways raced commandeered automobiles, filled with military officers, who were scattering handbills among the populace. Copies of these cir-

culars, we found later, had also been posted in every prominent place in Sofia and throughout the villages. A translation of the message they carried may perhaps best introduce our story of the revolution. The document read:

PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF BULGARIA

Bulgarians! The consummation that you have desired and hoped for so long, the downfall of the Stamboliisky Government of violence and oppression, has now been accomplished. A Government that was based upon force, that had for several years violated the liberty and rights of the people, and that had, instead of strengthening the bonds of the citizens, fomented and sustained class antagonism, could no longer be endured. The continual political assassinations, terrorization of the people, unheard-of pillage of the national wealth, election frauds without a precedent in the history of Bulgaria—all the work of the Government now fallen—constituted an affront to the dignity of Bulgaria both at home and abroad. The Government of Stamboliisky has succeeded in

transforming into wastes vast tracts of flourishing country. His policy has had the effect of disorganizing economic and financial life completely, of plunging the country into misery, and of driving it toward a veritable catastrophe. The indignation of the people having reached its climax, all the political forces of the country united and with steadfast resolution demanded the dismissal of the Stamboliisky cabinet.

If one were to judge from this portion of the manifesto, even with some allowance for the rhetoric and exaggeration of political documents, it would seem that Stamboliisky and his cabinet had become exceedingly unpopular and had been the cause of great discontent before the *débâcle*. And such was indeed the case. No statesman could have started his career under finer auspices, but seldom has a popular idol been more thoroughly shattered.

The Rise of Stamboliisky

Alexander Stamboliisky was a man of remarkable ability and had a most commanding presence. He was a giant in stature, and had a mane of black, shaggy hair. His voice was resonant, and he held considerable repute as an orator among his countrymen. Like the great majority of Bulgarians, during the World War he had opposed Tsar Ferdinand in the matter of an alliance with Germany. Because of the bold expression of his views to the monarch's face, he had been imprisoned by Ferdinand, and might ultimately have been executed, but was released just before the entrance of the Allies into Bulgaria. Then, supported by popular favor, he played an important part in the abdication of that ruler and the placing of the young Prince Boris upon the throne.

He soon made himself Prime Minister and was generally regarded by the diplomatic world as the wisest and strongest man in Bulgaria. Among his friends in other countries were Lloyd George and Poincaré. His foreign policy was constructive and enlightened. He insisted upon a frank recognition of Bulgaria's defeat in the war, and in every way sought to turn the country away from the old hatreds and jealousies and toward the activities of peace.

The most extreme example of this is found in his efforts to restrain those irreconcilables among his countrymen who have steadfastly maintained that Macedonia, so long partitioned, belongs in its entirety to Bulgaria both by consanguinity and legal right, and must be restored. In pursuit of

this object, he concluded an agreement with Serbia to crush the *comitadjis* or armed bands of Macedonia that were being organized secretly in Bulgarian territory. He also held that in the faithful execution of the terms of all peace treaties lay the only hope for Bulgarian recovery, and in many ways earned the gratitude of a distracted Europe. As the reward for such diplomacy, the Allies last March reduced the indemnity imposed upon Bulgaria under the treaty of Neuilly to little more than one-fifth the amount, and extended the time for its payment by nearly a quarter century.

Penalizing the Well-to-Do

But the descent to Avernus proved easy for Stamboliisky. Power seems to have turned his head completely. While he had received a good education himself, he was peasant born and a peasant at heart. He hated the educated classes and property-owners, and was determined upon their undoing. His fundamental principle was that the wealthy were predatory by nature and that their property must be divided among the poor. If a man possessed more than one house, the extra one was appropriated by the Government at its own valuation, and the owner was compensated with Government bonds that were to mature in fifty years, or was paid in the depreciated currency of the realm. At first, too, no one was allowed to own more than three hundred decares of land (approximately 75 acres), but, as this seriously affected the farms of the Agrarians and threatened to alienate the owners, he shortly had this law changed.

Everything was done to place the heaviest possible burdens upon the well-to-do and thrifty. The use of servants and every variety of domestic labor-saving device—such as electrical appliances for sweeping, washing, cooking, and other purposes—were heavily taxed and made impossible to maintain. Anti-"white-collar" laws were introduced, and labor was made compulsory for all.

All young men between eighteen and twenty were required to complete eight months of manual labor on various public works, and young women of the same age a like period in orphanages, hospitals, and similar institutions. School children, whatever their social status, were compelled to labor with their hands for one week in the fall and one week in the spring. All men

above conscript age were to work on civic projects until they were fifty, for ten days each year.

The laboring class itself was paid considerably better than office workers, and the situation became thoroughly intolerable for bankers and substantial business men. There is little wonder that the property-owning, commercial, financial, and intellectual classes soon came both to hate and fear him.

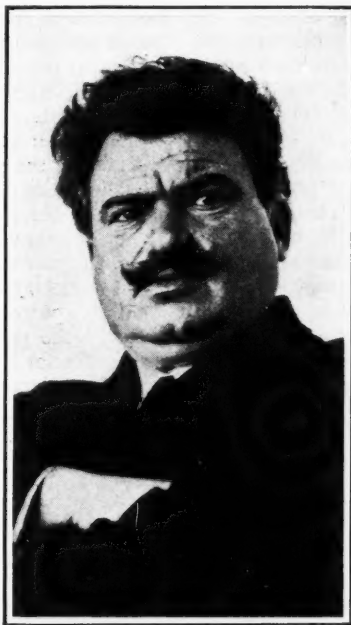
Premier Becomes Dictator

All these acts might, however, have been attributed to a benevolent, though mistaken, policy and conception of economy, except that his theory was somewhat weakened when Stamboliisky came to applying it to distribution. The houses and lands he had acquired by confiscatory methods seem not always to have been turned over to the poor, but to have been divided among his friends. He likewise appears to have enriched his followers in various other ways. Neither he nor they were granted exorbitant salaries, but they all seem to have grown wealthy while his régime lasted. Stamboliisky's own salary was less than that

of most clerks in the American consulate at Sofia, but, while he brought nothing to the premiership, in some way or other his wealth after a few years was generally estimated to have become very large for a Bulgarian. After the revolution, when an official commission examined his residences in the city and the country, it is reported to have found over fifty millions of Bulgarian leva (normally 20 cents), and a goodly amount in Swiss and French francs and English money, although the country was in actual suffering for want of currency.

Of course, such a high-handed policy as Stamboliisky pursued could not be carried out by due process of law. Very early in

his administration he assumed that tyrannical power was necessary to effect his reforms, and undertook to act independently of the Constitution. Whenever persons for one reason or another became obnoxious to the government, he had them arrested and transported to various places in the country, without giving them time to notify either friends or family.



ALEXANDER STAMBOLIISKY, THE
BULGARIAN PREMIER-DICTATOR

(Who lost his life in the revolution of last June)

A most sensational event occurred last April, just before the elections, when his special tribunal convicted the entire cabinet of his predecessor, Radoslavoff, of having dragged Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers, and condemned the six leading members to life imprisonment with hard labor and the others to five- and ten-year terms. They were also jointly fined a sum equivalent to about \$160,000,000. So wholesale a sentence was quite unprecedented, but might have been condoned or even justified on the ground of war guilt, had not another group of twenty-two former ministers, including the finest stock in Bulgaria, and representing three cabinets subsequent to Radoslavoff's, been hurried away

to prison at Shoumla on vague and unfounded charges. The immurement of some forty statesmen of prominence in cells with criminals of the lowest order constitutes a situation for which we might have to go back to the Middle Ages to find a precedent. Other political enemies were constantly being imprisoned or even murdered in cold blood by his agents.

An Attempt to Close the University

Similarly, knowing that the municipalities and the University were in bitter opposition to him, he rescinded their legal rights as far as possible and made stringent regulations for their control. He always spoke of himself and the villagers, who were largely represented by young rural teachers

with political aspirations, as the real nation, and thus stirred up dissension and created class antagonism. Finally, when he found how bitter was the feeling of the *intelligentsia*, especially the *Naroden Zgovor* (National Alliance), organized by Doctor Tsankoff, he attempted to bring the professors of the University of Sofia, whom he especially hated, into line by closing their institution and depriving them of their salaries. For seven months, however, the educators refused to yield and remained steadfast in their opposition to his domination, and the dictator at length recognized that he would gain little by such tactics and reopened the University.

This was the first time that Stamboliisky had failed to complete any policy upon which he had started, and was the beginning of his downfall. It began to be obvious that he had managed to alienate practically all influential parties and social groups, save the Agrarians, but still he would not be warned of the rising storm, and openly boasted:

The Agrarian Union as such will rule for twenty years. After that it will develop into a Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, which will manage the government of peasant Bulgaria indefinitely. The Agrarian party will continue to control national affairs until the country is rid of the old ruinous parties, until the peasants and the working people have disposed of their parasites, the lawyers, bankers, profiteers, idle politicians and pernicious doctrinaires.

The *coup d'état* was planned some months before it took place, as the citizens were generally convinced that only the removal of Stamboliisky could bring peace to the troubled land, but this could be accomplished only with the aid of the military, and the people hesitated to use a means that was not constitutional. A climax, however, was reached through the results of the elections held on April 22. Despite the fact that the great mass of the people were now openly opposed to his government, by means of a diabolical form of gerrymandering, the use of his own election officers, intimidation, and the imprisonment of some of the candidates, Stamboliisky succeeded in securing almost seven-eighths of the deputies to the *Sobranje* (National Assembly). As a result, the dictator felt more confident of his power than ever, and began a fresh invasion of popular rights. The citizens could then restrain themselves no longer.

The Revolution

On the 9th of June, at exactly two-thirty in the morning, the storm broke. Apparently we American pilgrims were not the only persons taken unawares. Despite the great care and precision with which the *coup d'état* was executed, its chief characteristics were suddenness and rapidity. It seems almost incredible that so many people could have been informed and ready, without a whisper of what was on foot leaking out until the whole movement was an accomplished fact. A premonition that something was about to occur seems to have been generally felt throughout Sofia, but no one outside of the conspirators and the army had any idea as to what form the affair would take. Everything, however, was done on time, decently, and in order.

At the given signal all the gendarmes in Sofia were arrested and replaced by a military patrol. This was a necessary step, as the police had been especial pets and protectors of the dictator, and he had given them large powers. At the same time that the gendarmes were removed, most of the cabinet and many of the legislators and other government officials were seized and taken into custody. It was not, however, contemplated that any of these representatives of the Stamboliisky régime should be condemned without trial.¹ An attempt to lynch an especially obnoxious minister was quickly suppressed. A few of the gendarmes who resisted the change were killed, but otherwise there were no casualties. Stamboliisky himself was made a prisoner during his usual week-end visit to his native village of Slavovitza and was killed by a fusillade while attempting to escape. This dénouement, however, was not intended and was greatly regretted by the revolutionists.

King Boris Not Involved

It may be wondered what King Boris was doing all this time. The sovereign in Bulgaria is, of course, little more than a harmless figurehead representing the state, but it is customary to have the authorization of a change of ministry signed by him. The conspirators, however, had been careful to see that he was out of the city and in

¹ On August 23, it was announced by Minister of Justice Smiloff that ten members of the late cabinet—Zografsky, Atanasoff, Radoloff, Duparinoff, Pavloff, Marchevsky, Muravieff, Tomoff, Tourlakoff, and Manoloff—would be tried on charges involving the death penalty, including bribery, incitement to riot, and murder.

his palace at Vranje when the affair started. This was done not with the idea of depriving him of any of his prerogatives, but for the purpose of keeping his skirts clear of all complications.

Boris is one of the most beloved sovereigns in Europe, as he is, in contrast to his haughty and aristocratic father, exceedingly democratic and kindly. Three days before the revolution Stamboliisky had summoned Boris to Slavovitza and ordered him to sign a decree appointing him dictator. As the King was still delaying and temporizing when the revolution broke out, Stamboliisky might have been audacious enough to force him to abdicate, in the event of his own "return from Elba." Just how fully Boris suspected what was going on and how far the dictator would have dared to proceed, will always be matters for conjecture.

At any rate, the King seems to have been quite ready to receive the new Prime Minister and the general in command of the revolutionary forces, when they motored out to Vranje and informed him of the situation. They reported that, after some hesitation, he recognized the *fait accompli* and signed the decree naming a provisional cabinet under the premiership of Tsankoff.

Professor Tsankoff as Premier

This cabinet represents a coalition. It includes representatives of all parties, except the Agrarians and Communists, and is largely composed of men who have never held office before. The Prime Minister, Alexander Tsankoff, is professor of Economics in the University of Sofia. He is esteemed by all political parties but connected with none. He has, however, always leaned toward the Agrarians, and had the Intellectuals not been rebuffed by Stamboliisky, and some of them assassinated by his agents, Tsankoff might have joined that party. He is now inclined toward a moderate socialism, but has of late been driven

into close contact with the bourgeois elements.

Tsankoff was also temporarily in charge of the portfolios of War and Foreign Affairs, but Christo Kalloff, long a personal aide-de-camp of King Boris, was soon assigned to the post of Foreign Minister. As he also is a highly educated man of great tact and is temperamentally opposed to adventurous policies, his selection is a guarantee that the external policy of Bulgaria will remain peaceful and conciliatory. The new Minister of the Interior, General Ivan Rousseff, retired, has never been in politics before.

Another member of the University faculty, Professor Moloff, is in charge of Public Instruction, as well as Agriculture, but, like most educated men, he is essentially a man of peace. The other ministries—War, Justice, Finance, Commerce and Industry, Railroads, Telegraphs and Postoffice, and Public Works—are held by representatives of the various liberal and moderate socialist groups, who wish to see Bulgaria settle down upon a firm foundation.

The general attitude of the new Government is represented in its initial manifesto. After describing the necessity for the *coup d'état*, as already quoted, it proceeded to outline the policy of the provisional cabinet in these terms:

The new Government is fully aware of the grave responsibility that it has assumed in the interest of the nation. It holds it an imperative duty to declare its principles and preserve the peace. It considers it paramount to guarantee order and tranquillity to the

people, to restore to them the civic liberties of which they have been deprived, and to re-establish the dignity and prestige of the Government. The new Government declares itself ready to preserve peace in the country at any price. Every attempt at fomenting trouble, every attack on the Government, every blow at civic or property rights or the honor of the citizens will be punished with the utmost rigor. The command has been issued to the army and the police to use every means to suppress all attempts at disturbing the order of the country and to spare no effort toward attaining that end. The Government further declares that it aspires to see universal peace



KING BORIS III OF
BULGARIA

(Who succeeded to the throne on
the abdication of his father, in
October, 1918)

established in Europe. It agrees to observe loyally all the conditions of the Treaty of Peace, and pledges Bulgaria not to engage in any military undertaking in contravention of its agreement.

Europe Accepts the Change

This declaration would seem to be sufficiently specific and to indicate clearly the purely personal and domestic nature of the revolution. Nevertheless, the chancelleries of Europe were seriously disturbed lest the platform of the new Government prove merely something on which to stand until it was in power. Greece and some of the Balkan states, especially Yugoslavia, at first feared that the revolution, in spite of the Government's assurances, had a more far-reaching significance than that involved in a local struggle. Bulgaria has always resented the division and distribution of Macedonia, which she deems entirely her own, among five nations under the Salisbury diplomacy embodied in the Treaty of Berlin (1878), and she has for years longed to liberate her Macedonian people in Serbia, Greece, Rumania and Turkey. Moreover, her need and desire for an outlet to the Ægean Sea have never been recognized by the Treaty of Bucharest or any subsequent pact. Stamboliisky was inclined, for the sake of peace, to make large concessions in these matters to Bulgaria's neighbors, and it was but natural for them to be skeptical concerning the declaration of international policy made by those who had upset him.

To remove these suspicions, the new Premier and ministers, as soon as the cabinet was approved by the King, visited the legations of the great powers and assured them that no change would take place in foreign policy and that the terms of the treaty with the Allies would be scrupulously enforced. They also declared that the new Government would not order a general mobilization, but would endeavor to bring about a *rapprochement* with neighboring countries. The Bulgarian delegate, Theodoroff, was likewise instructed to make similar representations to the international conference at Lausanne.

Gradually all the countries concerned have become satisfied that the *coup d'état* was in no way aimed at the Treaty of Neuilly (1918), and that there was no reason to distrust the affirmations of the new Government. After long conferences with the Greek statesman, Venizelos, the Turkish, Serbian, and Rumanian repre-

sentatives at Lausanne advised their countries that the change of the Bulgarian government would, if anything, be of advantage to them. About the same time England sent a message to Serbia, counseling her to refrain from provocative military measures. And more recently the rumored betrothal of the Princess Ileana to King Boris would seem to indicate that Rumania is satisfied of the good intentions of Bulgaria. Moreover, some countries from the beginning were tacitly in sympathy with the revolution. At the height of the excitement we joined a large and demonstrative crowd in front of the Italian Embassy, and found that they were being addressed by their old hero, General Lazaroff, from the porch of that building.

A Hopeful Prospect

For a week or so there was also fear expressed lest a counter-revolution on the part of the Agrarians would occur. This apprehension, however, had little substance. The revolutionaries had been shrewd enough to make the move while the farmers were engaged in harvesting, and the latter, being somewhat disillusioned concerning Stamboliisky, anyway, showed themselves more interested in crops than *coups d'état*. In the few outlying districts where outbreaks did occur, they were easily repressed by the soldiery.

From the beginning, the sentiment of the citizens of Sofia was overwhelmingly in favor of the new Government. About three o'clock on the afternoon of the first day a large proportion of the city's population—men, women, and children—were gathered in front of the Sobranje, to listen to the revolutionary orators expounding the cause of Bulgaria. The fence and base of the equestrian statue of Alexander II in the square in front, and even the horse and heroic figure of the Liberator, were covered with a mob of men and boys standing or sitting as best they could. In the midst of the speaking, General Bigaroff, who had been in charge of the maneuvers, was carried to the rostrum upon the shoulders of four men. The speaker embraced him as an impassioned youth might his *inamorata*, and kissed him rapturously upon both cheeks. Then, before the sturdy warrior was permitted to speak, he was passed down the line, and the osculation became general. His first sentence—"After four years of tyranny, 'tis well to celebrate

our emancipation"—was greeted with vocal approval that would remind an American of our old "rebel yell," and all his subsequent utterances were similarly punctuated with cheers.

At the close of this mass meeting there could be no doubt about the way in which the new Government had met with popular acclaim. That night the soldiers bivouacked in the streets and military rule continued for another day; but through it all the citizens were smiling. The revolution had been accomplished and they were all relieved and happy. The tyrant had been unseated and a more democratic régime had been begun almost without bloodshed.

But what of the future? Everything now promises well for the prosperity of Bulgarian politics, but one cannot speak with assurance until the new elections have been held. The first duty of the provisional cabinet was to dissolve the Sobranje, which was stacked with the adherents of the deceased dictator. New elections should properly be called within two months of the cabinet's taking office, and are likely to be held before this article is published. The fate of the Government will, of course, be determined by the results at the polls. While, under the circumstances, the Tsankoff cabinet is almost certain to be sustained, the Prime Minister may insist upon the provisional nature of his government and step aside in favor of some experienced statesman. An outstanding figure, such as Daneff, might be asked to form a cabinet representative of all parties, including even the Agrarians. Professor Tsankoff is sufficiently an idealist to make a "sacrifice hit" of this sort.

On the other hand, the Premier has be-

come a very popular leader, and has striven hard to bring about a union of all the democratic forces of the country. If he can achieve a fusion of all the bourgeois elements into a single democratic party, it would seem as if his administration must be continued. There is no one in sight so likely to succeed Alexander Tsankoff as himself.

A serious uprising which broke out about the middle of September seems to have been of Communistic origin, somewhat financed and equipped by Russians. But the peasants, who were still angry over the downfall of Stamboliisky, joined in large numbers. This Soviet-Agrarian movement was scattered and confined to small settlements, although resistance was strengthened by the mountainous nature of the country. On September 28, the last of the revolutionary forces were captured by Government soldiers, with the assistance of civilian volunteers.



ALEXANDER TSANKOFF, LEADER OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS AND NOW PREMIER

(Professor Tsankoff is head of the department of economics at the University of Sofia, which Stamboliisky attempted to close)

A marked improvement in Bulgaria's relations with her neighbors was manifest throughout the uprising. The Serbians refused to take advantage of the turmoil to invade Bulgaria, and they have since sent a delegation to Sofia for an amicable discussion of the Macedonian tangle. Greece has made similar overtures. Rumania offered military assistance in the event of its being needed to quell the Bolsheviks. And the Allies authorized Bulgaria to increase its forces, limited to 7,200 by the Treaty of Neuilly.

It remains to be seen whether the reformatory movement started by the bourgeois leaders of the combined democratic forces will regain the confidence of the peasant class, or whether the peasants will continue to follow the militant principles of Stamboliisky.



THE FALLS OF THE GENESSEE RIVER, IN LETCHWORTH PARK, SAID TO BE SECOND ONLY TO NIAGARA IN POINT OF BEAUTY

LETCHWORTH PARK

NEW YORK STATE'S MEMORIAL TO ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE FIGURES IN COLONIAL HISTORY, MARY JEMISON

BY GEORGE S. BROOKS

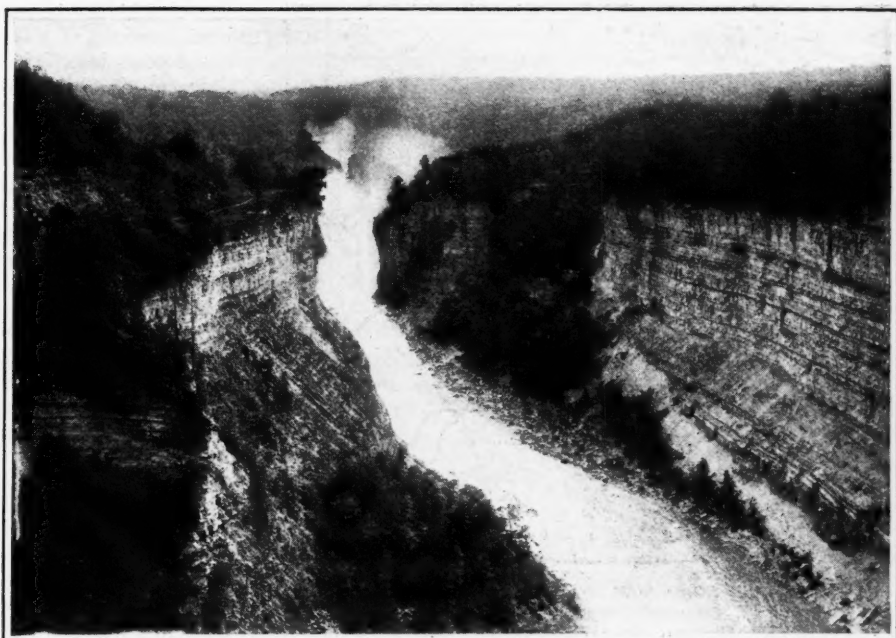
FIRST it was the camping ground of nomads, who carried their canoes and smoked deer meat around the barrier of the falls, from the placid water of the river below to the swift current above. Then it was deeded to Mary Jemison, the White Woman of the Genesee. Later it became the country home of William Pryor Letchworth, the most magnificent estate in America, and to-day it belongs to the State of New York, a permanent monument to Mary Jemison.

In picturesque beauty, Letchworth Park surpasses any public park or forest preserve in the Eastern States. It is situated at the falls of the Genesee River, near Buffalo, in Wyoming County. The falls themselves are second only in beauty to Niagara, while their setting among the original forest trees has changed little since the Seneca

Indians and their white captive, Mary Jemison, camped there, 150 years ago.

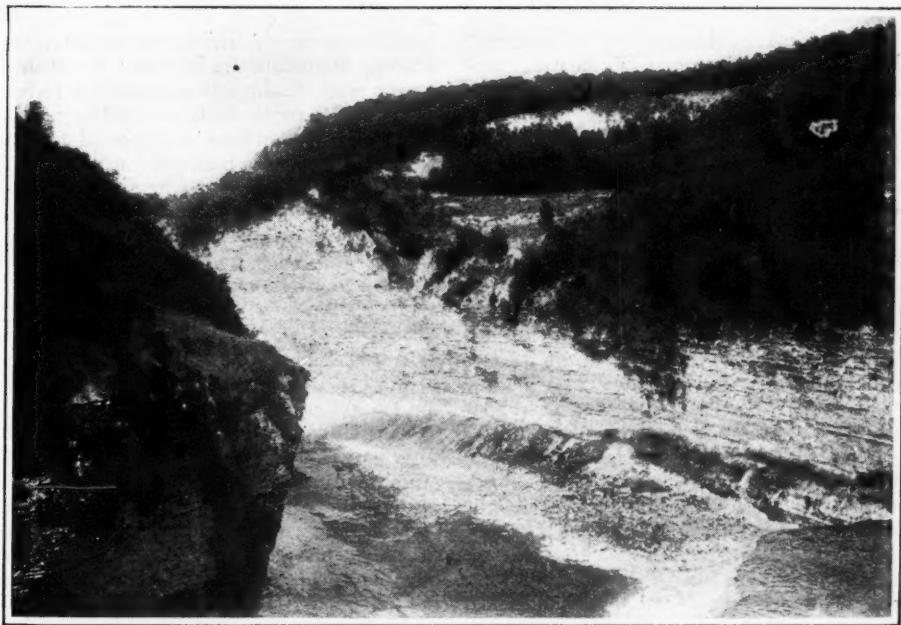
The park was given to the State by Dr. Letchworth, who preserved it from exploitation from 1858, when he purchased a tract of 1000 acres around the falls, until his death in 1910.

The historian revels in the associations intimately connected with the park. There is the grave of Mary Jemison, now marked by a bronze statue executed by H. K. Bush-Brown and considered his finest work. Mary Jemison, the White Woman of the Genesee, left to the world the fairest and most accurate picture of Indian life before and during the Revolution now in existence. Almost eighty years of her life were spent as a member of the Seneca tribe. The story of her life, as she related it to her biographer in 1823, is written with a

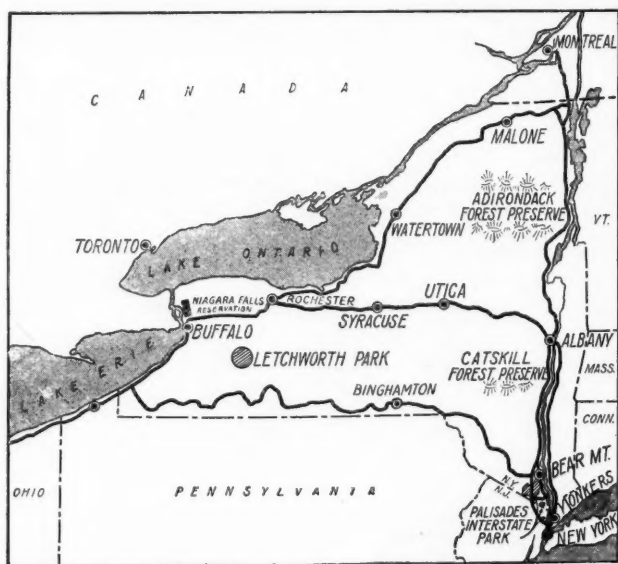


LETCHWORTH PARK AND PORTAGE FALLS

(Mary Jemison, the white captive, often carried her canoe up these cliffs in making the "portage" to still water above)



EXCEPT FOR THE ROADS AND PATHS WHICH FOLLOW THE INDIAN TRAILS, THE SCENERY
HERE HAS SCARCELY CHANGED SINCE MARY JEMISON SAW IT FOR THE FIRST TIME NEARLY
A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO



AN AUTOMOBILE ROAD MAP OF NEW YORK STATE, SHOWING LOCATION OF LETCHWORTH PARK, CATSKILL AND ADIRONDACK FOREST PRESERVES, AND OTHER STATE RESERVATIONS

simplicity and clarity of style which reminds one of historical passages in the Old Testament. The vicinity of the present park was her home.

Mary Jemison, the daughter of intelligent and educated Scotch-Irish parents, was born in 1743, while her father and mother were passengers on the *William and Mary*, en route from Belfast to Philadelphia. The family built a log cabin on Marsh Creek in Adams County, Pennsylvania, on the very fringe of frontier settlements.

It was from this cabin that she was taken by a roving band of French and Indians, April 5, 1758. The other members of the family were murdered, but Mary, destined for adoption into the tribe, was carried to Fort Pitt, the present Pittsburgh, where she was given to two squaws who became her "legal" sisters. The Seneca chiefs intended that Mary should replace a close and dear relative, a brother, who had been killed in a skirmish with Washington's troops near Fort Necessity.

Three years later, Mary Jemison married a Delaware warrior, a member of a party closely allied to the Senecas. She had adopted the Indians' habits of thought with the Indian dress she wore and she devoted pages of her story to a glowing description of her husband's

virtues and his kindnesses to her.

Three years later, after the death of Sheninjee, her first husband, Mary's brother concluded to join himself to another "family" of the Seneca nation, living at Geneseo, in Western New York. The overland journey from Pittsburgh to Geneseo took nearly five months in the autumn and early winter. According to the route which the Indians traveled, the distance was nearly 700 miles. Mary Jemison tramped this, carrying her four-months-old son on her back. In her narrative she stated that she "suffered from exposure" as she had only one blanket on which to sleep, but she added that her brother was "most

attentive" and considerate.

Shortly after her arrival at Geneseo, Mary Jemison remarried. The second husband was Hiokatoo, a powerful chief and Seneca strategist. His name was infamous among the white settlers who knew him as the most daring and cruel of the Indian leaders. He particularly excelled in inventing novel and unusual methods of torture for captives. He planned and executed the Indian massacre at Cherry Valley and the horrors of the treatment which he visited upon the survivors are classics in frontier history. But, like the celebrated English highwayman,

"Dick Turpin was a burglar bold,
At crime a master hand;
His public life was full of sins,
His private life was grand."

For Hiokatoo Mary Jemison had only the highest praise. She enumerated his cruelties and mentions several times her intercessions for captives. She bore him six children and seems to have really loved the stern warrior.

At that time, the Geneseo village was the real General Headquarters for the powerful confederacy of the Six Nations in peace and war. The village was built on the flat land along the Genesee River, which rises

in Pennsylvania and flows northward into Lake Ontario. The city of Rochester is near its mouth and the Indian village where Mary Jemison lived was about forty miles south of the lake.

To the student of American history, the real interest in Mary Jemison's life begins with her arrival at Geneseo. Her tribe, and more particularly her husband's family or "clan," were the greatest Indian warriors with whom our ancestors came in contact. They were the basis of the powerful Six Nations alliance and they dominated all that territory lying between the Hudson River and the borders of Kentucky. Their civilization, as seen by the white woman, was almost an ideal democracy—a fighting democracy, it is true, but a democracy of a pure Spartan type.

During the French and Indian War the Senecas and their confederates were able to maintain their tribal integrity by playing a deep game of diplomatic pussy-footing with first the French and later with the English generals. English mismanagement drove them into a French alliance which rather strengthened than reduced their prestige when France was driven from the continent. The fifteen years of peace which followed the capture of Lower Canada by the English, found the Six Nations the undisputed masters of the shores of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, of the New York "Finger Lakes" and of the banks of the Ohio River.

Geneseo Senecas, commanded by a chief such as Cornplanter or Little Beard, could muster a war party of 1200 fighting men at the outbreak of the Revolution. From their "long house," the council house of the tribe, war parties could reach the ports of Fort Niagara and Lewiston within twenty-four hours. Or, if the war were to be carried eastward to the white settlements in the Mohawk Valley, fifty hours of marching would see the first trading post surrounded.

It was at this time, during the lull before the war between England and her colonies, that Mary Jemison, then twenty years old, was offered an opportunity to return to one of the white settlements. But she was the mother of three Indian children and was devoted to her warrior husband. She was happy in her Indian home and refused to leave it. When the chiefs would have enforced their treaty with the English crown and returned all the captives, Mary Jemison fled into the woods and remained

there in hiding for several days, so that she would not be forced to return to her own people.

Settlers were gradually pushing their way into the choicest hunting grounds of the Senecas. Cabins were raised in new clearings, each one closer to the Geneseo village. Mary Jemison regarded the settlers with the same suspicion and fear that filled the minds of the chiefs and warriors. Yet her narrative shows that she was always the mediator between the settlers and the Indians; striving to save the whites from the scalping knife and the Indians from the aggressions of the colonists.

Of these years she says:

"If peace ever dwelt among men, it was in these (former) times, in the recesses from war. The moral character of the Indians was, if I may be allowed the expression, uncontaminated. Their fidelity was perfect and became proverbial. They were strictly honest and despised deception and falsehood. Chastity was held in high veneration and a violation of it was considered sacrilege. They were temperate in their desires, moderate in their passions, candid and honorable in the expression of their sentiments on every question of importance."

This basic honesty of the Indian character, Mary Jemison said, was the real cause of their undertaking the support of the English in the Revolutionary War, which move led to the final tragedy and the conquest of the tribe by the victorious colonists. The chiefs had signed a treaty with the English crown at the end of the war with France. When the Revolution broke out, they remained true to their word and supported the losing side.

Then, in rapid succession, came the disastrous battles at Fort Stanwix and Saratoga, where the British arms went down to defeat. The Indian allies of the English were marked down for destruction. General Sullivan was sent from Pennsylvania with a large force of Continental soldiers, and, in a whirlwind campaign across New York State, he burned the villages at Geneseo and Canandaigua, defeated the picked warriors of the Six Nations in several engagements, and left the corn fields bare and desolate. During this attack on her home, Mary Jemison fled to the woods. When she returned, she was confronted with the problem of feeding herself and her children through the winter months. Their entire harvest, their cabin, all their supplies were gone. This was September.

Mary Jemison took her family through the forest to the cabin occupied by two

Negroes, escaped slaves, whose corn had not been burned by Sullivan's men. She husked the corn "on shares" for the Negroes and in this way secured enough meal for her family during the long hard winter.

Mary Jemison gave a vivid description of the aftermath of one of these battles and always, in telling the story, quoted a bit of Indian oratory. An Indian warrior found his own brother acting as a scout for Sullivan's forces and guiding the army to the Genesee village. The "traitor," as the Indians considered him, was captured. Then the brother faced the captive, waving his war club.

"Brother! You have merited death [he said]. When I begged you to follow the fortunes of our tribe in war, you were deaf to my entreaties.

"Brother! You have merited death and shall have what you deserve. When the rebels raised their hatchets to fight their good master, you



THE STATUE OF MARY JEMISON, THE WHITE WOMAN WHO LIVED WITH THE SENECA INDIANS FOR 80 YEARS

(Executed in bronze by H. K. Bush-Brown, and marking the grave of Mary Jemison in Letchworth Park)

sharpened your knife, you brightened your rifle and led our foes to the fields of our fathers. You have merited death and shall die by our hands. When those rebels drove us from our homes to seek out new places, it was you who dared to step forth as their pilot and conduct them, even to the entrances of our wigwams. There you would butcher our children and put us to death.

"Brother! No crime can be greater than yours. But though you have merited death and though you shall die on this spot, my hands, unlike yours, shall not be stained by the blood of a brother. *Who will strike for me?*"

The chief, Little Beard, drove his tomahawk through the renegade's skull.

The rest of Mary Jemison's story is a dreary tale of the decline of the proud Senecas. Before she died in 1833 she had seen them stripped of their lands, degraded

by the rum-traders, whom she blamed for most of their misfortunes, and left in squalor and indigence by the Government. The park remains as a memorial to her.



A CABIN BUILT BY MARY JEMISON FOR ONE OF HER DAUGHTERS

(Now preserved in Letchworth Park)

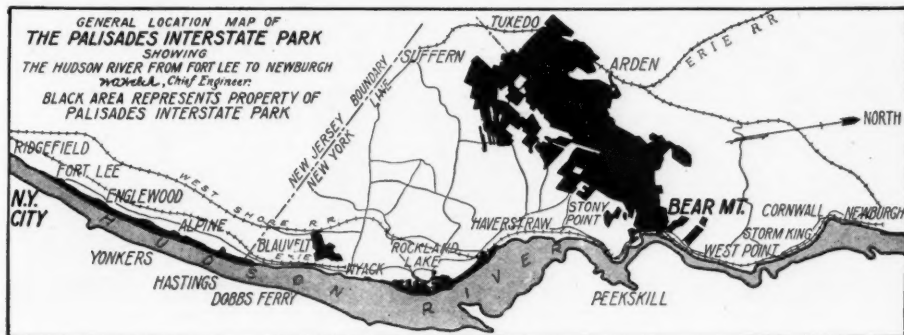


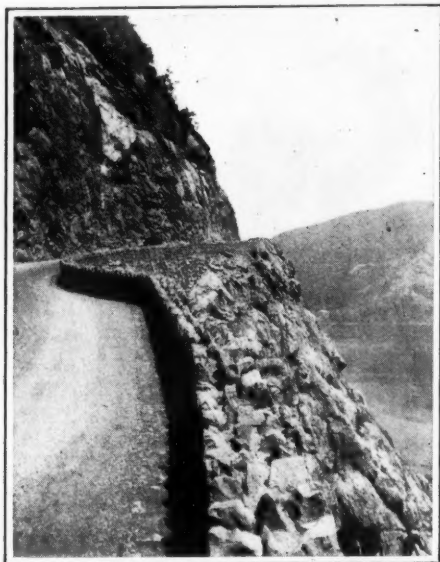
ONE OF THE LAKES CREATED IN THE PALISADES INTERSTATE PARK BY DAMMING A BROOK
(The rock formation—indicated at the left—favors the impounding of water without appreciable seepage)

PALISADES INTERSTATE PARK

IN THE States of New York and New Jersey a group of private citizens, led by the late George W. Perkins, began more than twenty years ago to enlist public interest and support in the protection and preservation of the Palisades, the famous ramparts of rock extending for over twelve miles along the western shore of the Hudson River, in large part facing the City of New York itself. Under private ownership, the quarrying of rock on a large scale threatened the scenic beauty of a considerable part of this New Jersey frontage. After some agitation of the matter an Interstate Commission was created, appropriations obtained from the New York and New Jersey Legislatures, and in course of time valuable gifts

of land and money secured which at last enabled the creation of a waterfront park, beach camping grounds, a system of excellent automobile roads and improved ferry transport. The Palisades come to an end a short distance north of the New York-New Jersey line, on the west bank of the Hudson. They rise above the river from 300 to 550 feet, forming a most impressive feature of the landscape. The wisdom of Mr. Perkins and his associates in bringing about public control of the Palisades and insuring them for all time against the vandalism of greed is now seen and conceded by millions of New Yorkers, who at the time when his work was being done hardly gave it a thought. The Park has become





ON THE FAMOUS STORM KING MOTOR HIGHWAY

(The Hudson lies hundreds of feet below)

one of the important camping and recreation outlets of the crowded city on the eastern bank of the river.

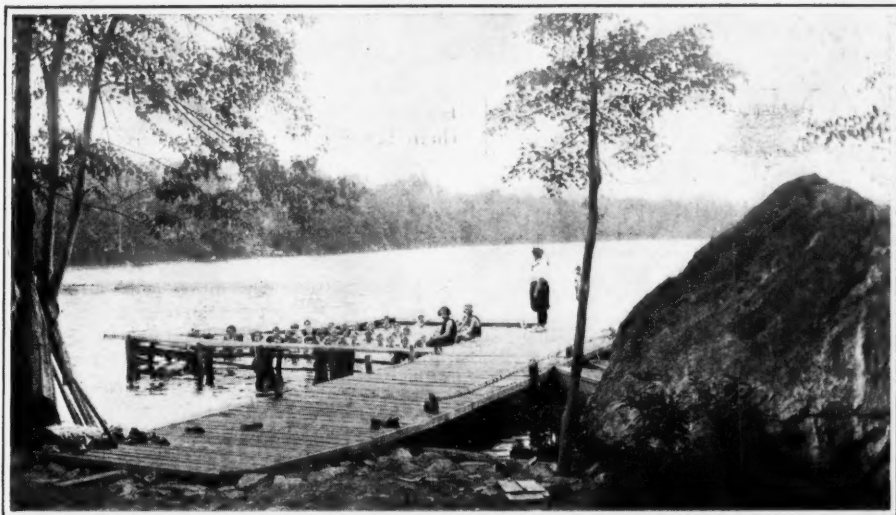
During his lifetime the late Edward H.

Harriman acquired thousands of acres of hill lands in Rockland and Orange counties, New York. These lands lay chiefly between the main line of the Erie Railroad and the Hudson River. Mr. Harriman had bought them because of the threatened encroachments of lumbermen who were likely to strip the hills of what standing timber remained of any value, leaving no guarantee of future growth. Thus his motive in buying these large tracts of waste land was similar to that of Mr. Perkins and his fellow-commissioners in protecting the Palisades. Before Mr. Harriman's death in 1909 the Palisades Commission had become an effective working organization, receiving the support of both State governments. By transferring his title to the Commission Mr. Harriman would accomplish the end that he most desired—the use of these lands for public benefit. Soon after Mr. Harriman's death a transfer of more than 20,000 acres was effected, and later other tracts were added, the whole now forming a magnificent park of 35,000 acres, including ridges of over 1300 feet elevation, commanding unobstructed views in all directions.

The Harriman Park in its eastern extension approaches the Hudson River at Bear Mountain, forty-five miles north of New York City. To this point the largest river



THESE BEAUTIFUL LAKES DOUBLE THE RECREATIONAL FACILITIES OF THE PARK



A GROUP OF GIRL SCOUTS ENJOYING A DIP IN A LAKE CLOSE TO CAMP

steamers carry thousands of New Yorkers during the summer months. Ample boat landings, a restaurant, picnic and play grounds, have been provided by the Commission. During the year 1922, 2,600,000 persons visited this section of the park. Of this number, 636,690 came by steamboat, 1,851,000 by automobile, and the remainder by trains and motor boats. The completion of fine highway connections with New Jersey and the adjacent New York counties has greatly stimulated travel to and through the park. A still more important increase may be expected when the new vehicle bridge is opened between Anthony's Nose and Bear Mountain—the only highway bridge across the Hudson below Albany. On the basis of the statistics of 1922 the attendance in the park exceeds that in any national park.

If Mr. Harriman and Mr. Perkins were alive to-day, they would see in great part the realization of their dreams of a great people's playground within the zone of easy access from New York. Major Welch, at first the chief engineer and now the manager of the park, has not stopped with the building of roads which open up to the motor tourist the beauties of a region that remained a wilderness for almost three centuries after Henry Hudson from his little *Half Moon* first glimpsed the Western Highlands of the river that was to bear his name. The city dweller who owns not even a Ford may now at a minimum of expense pass his annual vacation, with his family, in the very

midst of all this scenic grandeur. Camps are provided on suitable sites throughout the preserve.

Various organizations—the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A.—have permanent camp headquarters in the park. By the damming of natural streams lakes were formed, the geological formation making the process simple. On the banks of these lakes are hundreds of excellent camp sites. Only a stone's throw away lies the really "wild" country—all within the park itself—where the "hiker" may follow genuine mountain trails from sunrise to sunset with hardly a glimpse of civilization. (Some New Yorkers may not believe this possible, within fifty miles of the metropolis, but a tramp over the Ramapo-Dunderberg trail of twenty miles from the Hudson to Tuxedo will convince the most skeptical.) Standing on one of those granite ridges, 1,300 feet above the river, one may gaze for miles in every direction without seeing so much as a curl of smoke from a chimney to indicate the presence of other humans. Yet men have roamed over those hills from the earliest date of settlement along the Hudson. Iron mines were worked in that region, and smelting done, before and during the Revolution. The hills were denuded of timber. The charcoal burners took much of the second growth. Now, reforestation is going on and the region is becoming green again.

W. B. S.

AMERICAN ART AT PARIS

BY JOHN W. BEATTY

(Director Emeritus, Carnegie Institute; author of "The Relation of Art to Nature")



JOHN S. SARGENT

ONE of the most significant small exhibitions of American art ever shown was recently presented in Paris by the Association Franco-Américaine. It was provocative of thought and discussion from more than one point of view.

The exhibition included fifty water-color paintings by Winslow Homer, seventy-five by John S. Sargent, sixty-three by Dodge MacKnight and twenty sculptures by Paul Manship.

The collection, numbering 213 works in all, was presented under the most distinguished auspices. The committee having the exhibition in charge was composed of men who stand in the front rank of modern artists. To this active committee were added, in an honorary relationship, the names of very many eminent painters, statesmen and public men representing nearly every continental nation and, of course, including America. In this respect,

nothing could have surpassed the honor and the signal recognition paid to American art as represented by these four men. I do not recall an exhibition within many years so honored by professional and official men of France. To every American this fact will prove gratifying, but it seems to me the presentation of works by these artists at this time implied a deeper significance than did the exhibition in itself.

In recent years we all have noted, I think, the confusion in the public mind with respect to art. New schools have multiplied with astounding rapidity; novel methods, or rather forms of expression, have appeared. Astonishing exhibitions have been shown in this country and in Europe, and the discussions in every art school and in very many studios turn upon the so-called "new" art.

The first thought, therefore, prompted by the extraordinary honor paid these American artists in France is that they do not stand for anything "new" in art. Indeed, Homer, Sargent and MacKnight stand definitely for the established, the permanent, the known. Their works are vital, living expressions of nature. They have not deviated from principles firmly rooted in their minds and experience long before "new" art was discussed. Their art is "new" only in the sense that anything vital, or strong, or stirring is inspiring and vivifying. There is no false perspective or distortion of any kind. There is only the most direct, forceful painting. The striking results have been secured without effort or ambiguity. Their works stand or fall upon the simple claim that they are strong paintings and that they represent things actually seen and felt by the painters. This is the first thought suggested.

The second thought is that there is a striking similarity in essential respects existing among these paintings. Where the general composition is similar, as for instance in MacKnight's "Hunter's Snow" and Homer's "After the Tornado," the

general similarity is extraordinary. It is even startling.

The third thought which occurs to me is that there runs through the works of these three painters a note of verity which unites them in a common family. This quality of truth seems to be the uniting factor. Wholly apart in subject matter, and different in technical treatment, they are akin in the revelation of a mental attitude toward nature. They are also alike in extreme simplification and in the rendering of a few dominant qualities. There is also expressed in all their works a degree of confidence amounting almost to abandon; the ability to grasp the essentials and to record those with tremendous force. Such confidence only results from profound knowledge.

While this is true, it is also true that the works of these painters differ in the technical methods employed. Each employed the method best known to himself. As their knowledge increased, their technical methods advanced, but technique is a means, not an end. They have not de-

parted from their original conceptions of art.

These thoughts come to one almost involuntarily, and then, one thinks of the men and how widely they were separated in life and experience. No lives could be more sharply contrasted than those of Sargent, Homer and MacKnight. Sargent's career has been a continuous brilliant triumph. Van Dyke's success at the court of Saint James's was not more pronounced. Sargent has for many years been a part of the social life of London and one of the outstanding figures in the entire world of art. His sun has never set in the murky atmosphere of England. From his very youth, when he came from Florence to Paris and entered the studio of Carolus Durand, fortune seemed to smile upon him. Only recently, a number of his notable paintings were admitted to the great National Gallery in London—an honor rarely bestowed upon a living artist. Never before was an entire room set aside for a single master. His fellow painters have vied with the public in doing him honor. Indeed the professional men were the first to accord him recognition.

I recall a visit to the Royal Academy in London many years ago with Alexander Roche. We had returned to the main gallery after a tour of the other galleries. "There goes that Sargent, booming away!" said Roche. The painting was the wonderful portraiture of Mrs. Meyer and her children. That has been the mental attitude of painters very generally toward Sargent ever since his student days in Paris.

In the development of his art Sargent has revealed increasing power. Some of his portraits are amazing in their freedom and delicacy of touch, their revelation of complete, final mastery over medium and means. I use the word "final" advisedly, because I have been told that Sargent is tireless in his approach to the final painting.

Sargent's Boston Public Library decorations are widely known. Indeed, it would be hard to guess how many American homes possess copies of his "Frieze of the Prophets." Recently he has completed important decorations in the Boston Museum of Art.

The water-color paintings shown in the Paris exhibition represent another and later phase of Sargent's art. They represent a wide range of subjects: glimpses of Switzerland, Venetian canals, Florida everglades and many other attractive themes found in the course of journeyings in many lands.



"MISS BRICE"—A PAINTING BY SARGENT



"THE HIGH CLIFF"—A PAINTING BY WINSLOW HOMER

These paintings exhibit Sargent's extraordinary facility, often his swift touch in lighter vein, and his perfect knowledge of form and design; but I have never felt that in these later productions he has sounded the profound depth of truth. They seem to represent the surface of things, not the substance. There is a deeper quality in nature which lies beneath this: a quality which Sargent came closer to realizing in his oil paintings: a quality not revealed in these works. This, at least, is the way they have always impressed me. I do not think Sargent has added to his acknowledged reputation by his water-color paintings.

Winslow Homer's Secluded Life

Sargent's life is in sharp contrast to Winslow Homer's life. Homer's was almost the life of a recluse. He lived during many years in a secluded village, Prout's Neck, on the Maine coast. He rarely visited Boston or New York. He was a reserved man, mingling little with men of affairs. Excepting the companions with whom he had been associated in the old Tenth Street Studio Building, in New York City, he knew

few of the painters of our period. I recall an incident which illustrates this. On one occasion we were dining at the old Holland House. After luncheon, I suggested that we go to the "Varnishing Day" reception at the National Academy. To this Mr. Homer demurred, saying that he never put himself in where he was not expected; but presently we did go to the reception. Although his works were known to every man present, few of them had ever met Homer. I think I actually introduced him to a score of the younger painters within the first fifteen minutes. He was given an ovation. For half an hour it seemed like a Homer reception.

Some years before this incident occurred, Homer was elected by his fellow painters to serve on the Carnegie Institute Jury of Award. Frank Duveneck had also been elected to serve on this jury. Homer had telegraphed the time of his departure from New York and I went to the station to meet him. Duveneck stepped from the train, and as I greeted him I inquired for Homer, but was assured that Homer was not on the train. Hesitating to leave the station, I

scanned the faces of the passengers and, seeing Homer, suddenly exclaimed, "There he is!" In surprise Duveneck said, "Why, that is the little gentleman with whom I sat in the smoker all the way over the mountains. We talked about everything but art."

These incidents illustrate what I mean. Homer did not mingle with the painters. This was not because he was not companionable. He was a delightful companion and a perfect host. The days I spent with him at Prout's Neck, when we tramped day after day along the rocky Maine coast made so familiar to art lovers by his masterly paintings, come back to me in memory as among the most delightful of my life. A practical, methodical man, exact in his form of expression, thoroughly business-like in all his dealings, he impressed me as a rare type of the old-time American gentleman.

The water-color paintings shown at the exhibition in Paris represent, in an important sense, the crowning achievement of Winslow Homer's life. They were contributed almost without exception by American museums of art. Five of them came from the home of Mrs. Charles Homer, where they had been treasured during many years before the painter's death. They are the expressions of an exquisitely trained mind, and of a hand guided by unerring precision. Homer had long since ceased to labor over canvas or pad. It had become to him pure joy to paint—an exhilarating pastime. The result, as we all know, was this series of spontaneous, masterly water-colors, which have commanded the homage of the entire art world. He had "quit the business," as he expressed it to me, and he was simply enjoying his power for the pleasure it gave him.

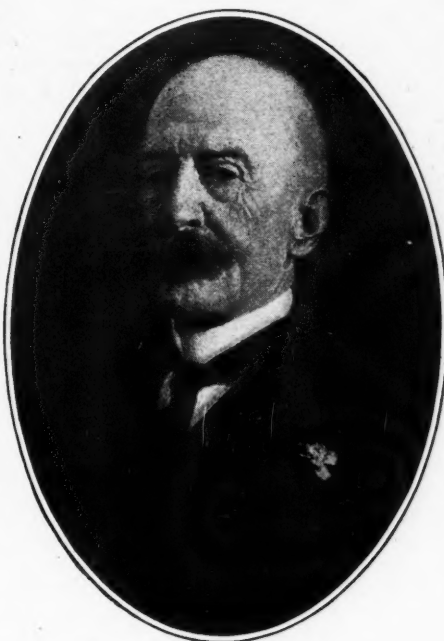
The lines and notes he recorded are so true that they bear the very impress of nature and life. It is this amazing quality of truth which makes so universal an appeal. These South Sea water-color paintings by Homer have set a new standard for water-color painting.

Dodge MacKnight, Landscape Painter

The contrast between Sargent's life and MacKnight's is quite as great. MacKnight's entire life has been spent quietly; and his works, even now, are not popularly known. Indeed, few among those who frequent the art galleries and who have knowledge of the popular exhibitors even know his name. His pictures are rarely seen outside New England; but in Boston an annual exhibition of his water-colors has been shown for many years. A few of his paintings are in the permanent collection of the Boston Museum and a larger group is exhibited in the art gallery founded by Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, in Brookline.

Sargent discovered MacKnight's great ability long before the writers upon art were awake, and

opened his London studio for an exhibition of MacKnight's water-color paintings as long ago as 1891. Dodge MacKnight's training, like that of Homer, was received largely through observation and constant application. He journeyed in many lands, continuously searching for the noteworthy and the characteristic. His travels took him first to France, then to Spain, to Africa, Newfoundland, and our own western country. He has painted a notable group of pictures representing the Grand Canyon. Finally, some twenty years ago, he settled down in New England, the land of his birth, at West Sandwich.



WINSLOW HOMER

(From a photograph taken at Prout's Neck, Me., in 1908, when Homer was seventy-two years old)



"ORIZABA MOUNTAIN"—A PAINTING BY DODGE MACKNIGHT

Many visitors to this charming Cape Cod town may have noted as they passed by, an extraordinarily tall box-wood hedge, reaching quite to the top of the first-story windows, and enclosing a perfect type of New England home. The colonial doorway seen through the narrow opening in the hedge has especial charm. This is the entrance to the home of Dodge MacKnight. I will not venture upon a description of the lovely interior, but the garden without, since it offers an index to Mr. MacKnight's character, almost demands a word or two. Rising gradually from the rear of the house it presents a wonderfully beautiful combination of colors, and an endless variety of forms.

Terrace upon terrace, supported by rough stones, rises amid small walks and arbors. Garden seats encircle old apple trees; peach trees are trained against a stone wall; dwarf pear trees are interspersed with hardy flowers; and in the midst of it all is a small garden space filled with rare and perfect roses. It is quite an enchanted little empire, with many old-fashioned, hardy flowers arranged in artistic order. One sees clumps of snap-dragon, larkspur, Veronica, the Butterfly plant, with here and there a rustic, homemade cement vase in which float water

lilies. Back of all, and surrounding the acre or more of garden is a splendid Arborvitae hedge, planted many years ago and now forming a dark green background for the flowers, fruit trees and rustic adornments. No one but a lover of flowers could possibly have created this enchanting garden; and no eye but one trained in the school of composition would have thus arranged it.

Doubtless Mr. MacKnight's love of flowers and his evident, innate admiration of brilliant colors drew him to Spain, Africa and the Grand Canyon; but not all his pictures represent colorful subjects. He has painted winter scenes in New England among the White Mountains, and in Newfoundland, with extraordinary feeling and understanding. It would be hard to imagine anything more beautiful in the field of winter landscapes than are these; but unfortunately that kind of profound quality appeals only to the highly trained eye.

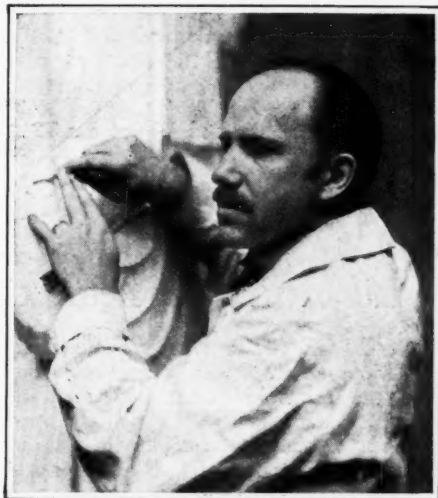
Thus it will be seen how widely divergent the lives of these painters have been; and how remarkable it is that they have thus been drawn together in a single unified group by the Association Franco-Américaine in Paris in this year nineteen hundred and twenty-three, and that their works thus assembled should be in such agreement.

It must be true that there is something attaching to the works themselves, some quality common to all, which links these three painters together. It means to my mind that they approached nature in the same spirit, seeking only to render in forceful manner that which appeared fundamental or essential; that in each case the reliance was upon nature alone. In the case of Homer, I know this reliance was absolute.

On the occasion of one of my visits to Homer, we were walking along the rock-bound coast of Maine, at Prout's Neck, when I said suddenly: "Do you ever take a liberty in painting nature? Do you modify or change the character or effect in any degree?" In memory, I see and hear the little gentleman, as he stopped in surprise at the question, and exclaimed with an emphatic gesture, "Never! Having selected time and subject, I paint nature exactly as I see her."

He did, however, select his subjects with a discriminating judgment based upon a lifetime of training and experience. The quiet, placid ocean had little charm for him. Once he referred to a calm sea as an uninteresting expression of nature.

The meaning of all this lies upon the surface. These men arrived at their supreme distinction and power through many years of study and hard work. They ultimately saw nature simply, in dominating lines and significant masses. These they rendered



PAUL MANSHIP, SCULPTOR

with tremendous power and vital energy. Simplification was probably the most potent factor in their art.

It is not the province of the present writer to deal with sculpture. Reference to this notable exhibition would not be complete, however, without saying that it included twenty small sculptures by Paul Manship. These represented quite adequately Mr. Manship's art; the grace of line and rhythmic movement which characterizes all his productions.



"DANCER AND GAZELLES"—A SCULPTURE BY PAUL MANSHIP

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine

ON DECEMBER 2, 1823, President Monroe addressed Congress and laid down the principle "that the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." He further declared that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, contributes to *Scribner's Magazine* for October an article which explains world conditions that resulted in the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine and also recalls incidents affected by the doctrine in its hundred years of existence.

Mr. Lodge reminds us that in 1822 the world was shaken and broken by a war which with one brief interval had lasted for twenty-two years, including all of Europe and the United States (1812) as well. All were agreed that such a war must never be permitted to occur again, but those in control of the peace-making machinery sought a solution mostly in alliances.

The "Holy Alliance" of Russia, Austria, and Prussia was then most formidable, and it was inclined to support Spain in suppressing South American insurrections. From 1816 onward Congress had debated the question of recognizing the Spanish-American republics; and when recognition came in May, 1822, it brought the United States conspicuously to the front of the stage.

John Quincy Adams (later himself President) was then Monroe's Secretary of State; and it was in Mr. Adams' diary—not in President Monroe's message—that the doctrine was first laid down. Mr. Lodge agrees in the belief now general that "the principles and policies of that declaration were the work of John Quincy Adams."

Two propositions were set forth by Monroe and Adams: (1) that the American continents were no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments, and (2) that it should be the policy of the United States not to interfere in Europe.

The first real test of the Monroe Doctrine came in 1865. During our Civil War French troops had conquered Mexico and set up a government with Maximilian of Austria as Emperor. But when our war was over 100,000 American soldiers were sent to the Texas frontier, and the French Government was told that the United States "still regard the effort to establish permanently a foreign imperial government in Mexico as disallowable and impracticable." That was in November, 1865. In February of the following year, Secretary Seward demanded that the French set a time when they would leave; and French troops were reluctantly and unwillingly withdrawn.

Mr. Lodge mentions the action of President Grant, who in May, 1870—in stating his policy regarding Santo Domingo—declared that "hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject to transfer to European powers." This principle President Grant declared to be equally important as the doctrine formulated by President Monroe, but Mr. Lodge holds that while not specifically in the original doctrine, it was an obvious and necessary inference.

The next application of the Monroe Doctrine came in 1895. Great Britain had been having a protracted controversy with Venezuela over the British Guiana boundary, and Britain—to quote Senator Lodge—"had been steadily pushing her boundary westward and taking in more and more territory which she claimed was in dispute." Great Britain declined arbitration, which Venezuela had asked. In July, 1895, Mr.



JAMES MONROE

Richard Olney, Secretary of State, pressed the London government for a settlement; and when none came President Cleveland laid the situation before Congress in December. He pointed out that there must be a settlement and proposed an American commission. "I keenly realize all the consequences

that may follow," declared Mr. Cleveland, but "there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice." The time had come for plain speaking, says Mr. Lodge; and the Venezuela boundary was settled, by arbitration.

In 1902, Venezuela again brought about a test of the Monroe Doctrine. Germany, England, and Italy had demanded payment of debts. The United States urged arbitration. Germany alone refused and stated that warships would occupy Venezuelan territory. President Roosevelt sent no message to Congress, nor diplomatic letters to Berlin. He summoned the German ambassador and told him that unless Germany consented to arbitrate within ten days an American squadron would be ordered to Venezuela to prevent the occupation of territory. When a week had passed the President made inquiry, was told that no reply had come from Berlin, and thereupon announced that the American squadron would sail a day earlier than originally

planned. Thirty-six hours later the German Emperor's agreement to arbitrate arrived; and President Roosevelt publicly complimented the Kaiser on being so staunch an advocate of arbitration!

The most recent application of the Monroe Doctrine was in August, 1912, when a Japanese commercial company was reported about to take possession of Magdalena Bay, on the west coast of Mexico. The United States Senate registered its opinion in a resolution which expressed "grave concern" over the possession of such a harbor by those in relation to another government, not American. The Senate resolution, adopted by an overwhelming vote, was a notice which could not be overlooked; and the Magdalena Bay incident was closed.

Mr. Lodge concludes his article on the Monroe Doctrine by referring to its recognition in the League of Nations covenant and to the Senate "reservation" of March, 1920, which declared that the Monroe Doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is wholly outside the jurisdiction of the League of Nations.

That the Monroe Doctrine has been a shield and defense to the states of South America, Mr. Lodge holds to be merely incidental. The central, dominating fact is that the safety of the United States is thereby secure, without dangerous neighbors.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

New Leadership in the Foreign Policy of Poland

A LITTLE more than five months ago Witos succeeded Sikorski as Polish premier, and M. Louis Eisenmann discusses in *L'Europe Nouvelle* of August 11 the effect of the change of leaders on the foreign policy of Poland.

The Witos cabinet is equally divided between members of the Polish popular party and members of the more numerous and popular group of the right wing, Dmowski's party. The government of

Poland seems to some observers to be passing definitively from the hands of the left wing or radicals to the right or conservatives. Others seem to think this share given the Dmowski right or conservative group a transient accident. As the right and left parties in the Polish Parliament are about equal, the final fate of any policy depends on the vote of the peasant or *piast* party and of the diverse minor elements which form about one-fifth of the deputies.

M. Witos is the leader of the *Piast* party and is a typical farmer, supple, shrewd and as full of ruse as an old fox, like Svehla of Czechoslovakia or Stamboliisky of Bulgaria.

M. Witos is primarily a political and parliamentary tactician, but on one point at least his ideas and purpose are firm and not to be shaken—agricultural reform. M. Witos is not at all concerned with aiding day laborers to possess the earth. The transfer of property he desires is from the aristocracy to the rich peasant farmer.

Whether Witos is at the head of a radical cabinet as in 1920 or of a conservative government as to-day, this is invariably his leading idea. He subordinates everything to this end and the means of attaining it are apparently quite indifferent to him.

Perhaps the fear of too far-reaching and socialistic reforms led Witos to the coalition with the right group with whom he signed a pact at Cracovia on May 16. On May 16 the Parliament elected the present coalition cabinet of Witos, Seyda and Glombinski. The right group reserved the foreign policy, while Witos pursued his usual policy of devotion to the interior affairs where he can promote his schemes for the farmers' party. His plan now is the voluntary or forced division every year of 400,000 hectares of land, public or private. The right group exacted as the price of its consent to this policy the adoption of its policy toward the diverse element party. The right party wishes to deprive this minority group of their decisive vote, which elected President Narutowicz.

As for the Dmowski group who will govern foreign affairs, M. Dmowski was the president of the National Polish Committee at Paris which was in exile the provisory government of Poland faithful to the Allies in a time when on national territory Pilsudski's legions fought against Russia beside the Central Powers. The dominant note of their foreign policy is the opposition to Germany, while the parties of the left wing remain

more strongly marked by the memories which separate Poland from Russia. The desire to ensure against the German revanche the new order established by the treaties which found Poland's security and even her existence, compel her to seek beside Western alliances close and cordial agreements with the other states which are dominant in new Central Europe, that is, the members of the Little Entente.

As a Posnanian and former member of the Paris National Polish Committee, M. Seyda, the new foreign minister, seemed predestined to make firmer the friendships and more enduring the alliances of his country. But, spoiled by the exasperating quarrel of Javorina, the relations of Poland with Czechoslovakia are more tense and strained than several months ago and the notes which M. Seyda has sent Czechoslovakia have provoked violent and painful discussions. The emphasis laid by the Polish government on its especially cordial friendships with Roumania makes the absence of progress all the more noticeable in the desired *rapprochement* policy of Poland toward the Little Entente. The eagerness of the Poles to make treaties with the Turks at Lausanne has not been enthusiastically received by the Balkan States and just missed placing one or the other of the Slav countries in a most embarrassing position. On the other hand, some of M. Witos' public utterances have aroused the susceptibilities of the Soviets and by reflex action, the fears of their Polish neighbors.

The Witos cabinet has, however, the program of a union of political and economic reforms. In the economic domain, the financial crisis which is a direct consequence of the close dependence of the Polish mark on the German mark, has created difficulties for the Cabinet for which it is not entirely responsible. But in the political order, it is they who must answer for the actual situation. Perhaps it is the suddenness of the change of cabinet, the singularity of the procedures used to bring it about and the slightly paradoxical nature of the populist and national democrat coalition that instinctively makes the foreigner skeptical as to the success and duration of this enterprise.

But Monsieur Witos, even though his last political phase has rendered certain *rapprochements* more difficult, would retain a certain advantage of a greater liberty of movement and of choice than the Dmowski group ministers.



PREMIER WITOS

The Joy Rides of State Governments

UNTIL recently, the expenditures of most of our State governments have not been regarded as excessive, nor has State taxation, as a rule, been thought unduly heavy. Such has been the normal situation, and until within the past ten years there were few who feared a rapid increase in the volume of State debts. The Federal Census Bureau, however, has made public figures which go to show that since 1919 the cost of conducting our State governments has more than doubled. Since 1913 it has almost quadrupled. Within three years it has risen more than \$800,000,000 annually, standing to-day at approximately \$1,443,000,000. Writing in the *Budget* (New York) for October 1, Mr. William P. Helm, Jr., says:

Keep up the progressive increase and within a decade the cost of government in the forty-eight States—exclusive of the cost of governing our cities, towns, counties and villages—will approximate \$5,500,000,000. Within twenty years, unless the accumulating velocity of spending is checked, the bill will be upwards of \$20,000,000,000 annually. Within a generation, at the present ever-increasing speed, it would go to \$80,000,000,000 a year—and universal bankruptcy.

The figures apply only to the cost of governing the States. The maintenance of the Federal Government which at the present time, thanks to the budget system of administering national finances, is decreasing every year; and the cost of governing our cities and other municipal units are additional to the cost of maintaining our State governments, as cited above. In fact, the item of State government is a comparatively minor one, huge though it be. The greatest single item of cost is the government of cities, towns, counties and villages. Those forms

of government, conducted under the noses of the taxpayers, are keeping step in increase with the State governments, and the totals paid by the taxpayers for local government throughout the nation are nearly three times the \$1,443,000,000 spent by the States.

Mr. Helm proceeds to show also from the census figures that the States are borrowing money as never before. Returns have been made public for thirteen States, fairly well distributed from East to West, and it appears that within the past five years the net debt of these thirteen commonwealths has been multiplied more than five times over:

At the present time the indebtedness of these thirteen States is comparatively insignificant, amounting to but \$6.18 per capita as compared with a national debt of about \$220 per capita. The point, however, lies not in the present dimensions of the State debt so much as in the fact that it is rattling up the hill at almost double the velocity of the cost of government. At the present progressive rate of increase the State debt would exceed the volume of the present national debt within twenty years.

That is where we are headed, definitely and rapidly, unless the brakes are applied. And the only man who can apply them is the voter. The governmental official and the legislator can help, but in the end the voter has the final say. If he wills economy, there will be economy. If he allows the politicians to administer his affairs without protest, there will be continuation of the present tendency.

The following tabulation gives the Census Bureau returns on the cost of State government, total cost and per capita cost, for 1922, 1917 and 1914, in fourteen States. Returns covering the remaining thirty-four States are in process of tabulation at the Bureau and probably will be made public in full before the first of the coming year.

TOTAL AND PER CAPITA COSTS OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

	1922		1917		1914	
	Total Cost	Per Capita	Total Cost	Per Capita	Total Cost	Per Capita
Colorado	\$16,269,251	\$16.69	\$5,735,439	\$6.36	\$4,189,042	\$4.88
Delaware	5,683,129	24.89	1,385,933	6.37	848,779	4.02
Illinois	52,118,260	7.83	25,431,117	4.08	18,936,023	3.16
Kentucky	18,836,479	7.71	10,879,539	4.55	8,670,980	3.69
Maine	15,696,788	20.30	7,673,450	10.08	6,137,716	8.15
Michigan	92,538,443	24.07	24,749,114	7.09	18,264,977	5.66
Minnesota	41,823,616	17.06	19,802,430	8.63	16,557,650	7.54
Nebraska	12,667,948	9.58	6,056,507	4.77	4,679,442	3.78
New Jersey	55,525,897	16.91	21,130,851	7.08	18,381,869	6.58
Ohio	67,681,926	11.35	22,146,076	3.09	18,644,017	3.60
Rhode Island	7,343,800	11.84	4,278,336	7.27	3,482,272	6.12
West Virginia	12,705,148	8.39	4,023,453	2.85	3,686,709	2.75
Wisconsin	34,802,118	12.92	16,647,953	6.48	15,800,525	6.41
Wyoming	4,990,174	24.27	1,868,132	10.34	1,226,837	7.40
Total	\$438,682,777		\$172,808,330		\$139,686,648	
Average per capita		\$13.21		\$5.52		\$4.70

These States have a population of about 30 per cent. of the total population of the Union. Mr. Helm thinks it may safely be assumed that the per capita cost of governing the people of these States will apply on the average to the inhabitants of the other States whose returns are not yet complete. In most instances the census figures do not enlighten us concerning specific expenditures of the State governments, but in the case of six of the larger States it is clearly brought out that highway construction is at least one major cause of the increase. In Illinois nearly one-third of all the cost of maintaining the State government went to build highways. In New Jersey the proportion was about one-seventh. In the other four States the proportion lay between those two extremes.

The indebtedness of the thirteen States was increased between 1917 and 1922 by

about \$160,000. The Census Bureau definitely accounts for about \$114,700,000 of the increase, by specific mention of bond issues to provide funds for two purposes—soldier bonus and highway construction.

Mr. Helm comments on the fact that thus far the item of interest on borrowed money is a minor one in the expenditures of the States. The magnitude to which this interest item may amount may well be illustrated by the experience of the Federal Government. At the present time interest on the national debt approximates one-fourth of the entire outlays of the Federal Government. The time is measurably distant, says Mr. Helm, when interest on the State debt—a debt which is being incurred largely for travel, convenience and pleasure—will be one-fourth or more of State expenditures, unless the present tendency to borrow money is checked.

Town Names in the United States

THE proverbially formidable task of finding names for the Pullman cars has been far more satisfactorily solved than that of naming cities, towns and villages in these United States. A study of the Postal Guide, with its list of 52,000 post offices, seems to refute the idea that Americans are an inventive people. The large proportion of places bearing ugly or commonplace names is bad enough, but the fact that it is the rule rather than the exception for an American town to have from one to a score of namesakes in other parts of the country is fraught with serious practical consequences. The more often a name is duplicated, the greater the chance of letters going to the wrong destination, and the greater, also, the strain put upon the machinery of the Post Office Department. The current *Monthly Supplement* of the United States Official Postal Guide (Washington, D. C.) contains a striking article on this subject.

Close similarity between names causes almost as much confusion as absolute identity.

The limits of reasonable similarity are somewhat stretched by the fact that 227 towns enumerated in the alphabetical list of post offices have the prefix Green to their name; thus, Green, Green Forest, Green Grove, Green Hill, Green Isle, Green Knoll, Green Lake, Greenland, Greenlawn, Greenleaf, etc., ad infinitum. Pennsylvania, if judged by town names, is one of the most verdant States of the

Union. It has 13 towns whose names begin with Green:

Greenbriar.	Greenboro.
Greenburr.	Greensburg.
Greencastle.	Greenstone.
Greene.	Greentown.
Green Land.	Greenville.
Greenock.	Greenwald.
Greenpark.	

Duplication as well as similarity of town names undoubtedly causes considerable difficulty in the Postal Service, slows up work, and shunts letters to wrong destinations. The irony of it is that the name which is used most and used as an honor and a memorial is the name of the man who is considered the father of the American Postal Service, Benjamin Franklin. There are in the United States and Alaska 31 communities bearing the name of Franklin.

The situation would be much worse than it is but for the fact that the Post Office Department controls the naming of new towns through controlling the naming of post offices. It is an inviolable rule that no two post offices in the same state shall bear the same name. The Department is not expected to provide names for towns, though there are instances in which it has engaged in this and kindred activities. We read:

There is a case on record where the Post Office Department did name a town. A little Missouri hamlet was about to rise to the dignity of a post office. The city fathers said they would name it so-and-so. The department replied that they would do nothing of the kind, since another Missouri com-

munity owned that title. More names were forthcoming, but none was satisfactory. Finally a department official wrote that it was "mighty peculiar" they could not find a good name.

"Acting on your suggestion," the reply letter read, "we wish to name our town Peculiar." Peculiar, Mo., is on the map to-day.

Here are the figures in regard to some of the more remarkable cases of duplication:

Forty-three names are used more than 20 times each to designate hamlets, towns, and cities which are large enough to have post offices. They are: Franklin, 31; Clinton, 30; Chester, 29; Arlington, 29; Washington, 28; Troy, 27; Salem, 27; Madison, 27; Marion, 27; Manchester, 27; Clayton, 27; Glenwood, 26; Kingston, 26; Newport, 26; Ashland, 25; Centerville, 25; Cleveland, 25; Auburn, 24; Dover, 24; Hillsboro, 24; Lincoln, 24; Monroe, 24; Oxford, 24; Princeton, 24; Springfield, 24; Warren, 24; Union, 24; Greenville, 23; Wilson, 23; Belmont, 22; Canton, 22; Dayton, 22; Eureka, 22; Liberty, 22; Milford, 22; Plymouth, 22; Burlington, 21; Lebanon, 21; Portland, 20; Lexington, 20; Jamestown, 20; Hudson, 20; Danville, 20.

The colonists often used the names of their home villages in England when they built new towns in New England. Their pioneer sons and daughters carried these names out through the West, and thus we find many Plymouths, Manchesters, Dovers, and Oxfords. There are within the confines of the United States 18 towns bearing the name of Paris, 18 Genevas, 17 Berlins, 12 Moscows, 11 Viennas,

6 Pekins, and 2 Brussels. Not only do we find the world's capitals in America, but also the world's measure of perfection in the concrete form of 2 Utopias, 22 Eureka's, 18 Arcadias, 15 Hopes, and 14 Eldorados.

Out of all this duplication there are a few gleams of hope. Even the United States Postal Guide confirms New Yorkers in the opinion there is only one New York. And although there are 22 Buffalos, 14 Denvers, 11 Bostons, 7 Detroits, and 6 Philadelphias, there is but one New Orleans and one San Francisco.

Lastly, the Department proposes the following "Rules for Naming Infant Towns":

1. Be original. Don't select a name some other town is using. There are 28 Washingtons, which gives 27 extra chances for a letter to go wrong.
2. Make the name short and catchy. Kodak sold a camera, Uneda a biscuit, Victrola a phonograph. A good name will popularize your town with postal clerks and others.
3. The Indians are dead but their atrocities live on. A man will write to his mother-in-law in Elko, Nev., before he will write to his best friend in Natchitoches, La.
4. Even if you can't be original, don't try to steal another town's name. Uncle Sam permits only one of each species in a State.
5. Pick a name the worst penman can write. Greenbriar, Pa., easily slips into Greenburr, Pa. Anyone can write Kalamazoo.

The Farmer's Outlook

A MORE intelligent interest in the farmer's problems on the part of the non-farming part of the community is visualized by United States Senator Arthur Capper, who comments on the subject in the *Kansas Farmer* of October 6. In regard to the coming session of Congress Senator Capper looks for some actual relief from the burdensome freight rates. He thinks it probable that Congress will consider this matter very early in its session.

Besides the reduction of freight rates Senator Capper hopes to see something done for the organization of coöperative marketing. He believes that Congress may develop some agency that will supply a greater service in marketing than is now being given. Possibly this will be a revival of the U. S. Grain Corporation, or an extension of the work of the Bureau of Markets, or it may even mean the building of an entirely new Federal marketing agency. In any event, Senator Capper insists that there shall be a more aggressive effort put forth by the Government in finding buyers, both

abroad and at home, for our surplus and other crops.

Senator Capper is far from cherishing the fond hope that Congress can cure all the ills of the farmer. He is ready to admit that legislation cannot modify economic laws, but such help as Congress can give the farmers, especially the Western wheat growers, along sound and practical lines, is greatly needed at this time. The further development of coöperative marketing should be followed by the growth of more nearly balanced systems of production and especially by diversified farming.

In all that he says about markets Senator Capper lays stress on the home market itself. The industrial life of America, he says, is organized to-day on the most efficient basis the world has ever seen in any land and is making steady progress. The growth of the industrial structure at the expense of the farming personnel of the country means an even greater market for farm produce. The well-paid city worker is a liberal buyer of food.

A Friend's Portrait of Stamboliisky

THE sudden and tragic catastrophe of this stormy and brilliant career is strikingly emphasized when an intimate friend, who practically justifies his taking-off, and wishes all success to those who have supplanted him, does not venture to sign the genial and effective portrayal of his friend's winning personal qualities in the *Paris Correspondant* for August 25th. Internal indications point to a Bulgarian ambassador, or possibly correspondent, at home in Western Europe, as the writer.

Surnames are much less fixed in the Near East than in the Occident. The statesman's father in his youth, having caught a single glimpse of a Turkish Bey's lovely wife, followed her lord to Constantinople, and served him laboriously as his gardener for years, in the vain hope of seeing her again, thus acquiring, on his return to Bulgaria, the cognomen of "Man-from-Stamboul."

The son, Alexander, born in 1879 in the little village of Slavovitza, spent his boyhood as a cow-herd, half-starved and beaten by a partial stepmother. From the village school his eagerness in study helped him to a year or two in a neighboring "lyceum" or "gymnasium," but he never acquired any language but his own. On money borrowed from an instructress he spent something over a year in the agricultural school at Halle. On his return he married, at eighteen, his benefactress, ten years his senior. She gave him thereafter material help in piecing out his meager education—as well as a son and a daughter.

At twenty-three he was editor of the chief Agrarian paper, organ of the farmers, who make up 85 per cent. of the entire Bulgarian people. A leading spirit from the first, he was elected to the Sobranje (National Congress) five years later, and quickly became chief of his party.

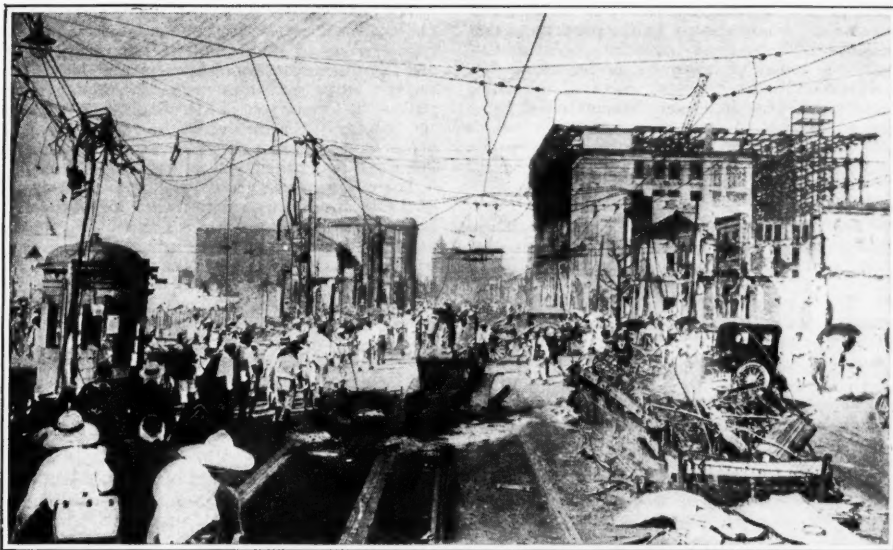
When in 1915 Ferdinand mobilized his army in the German interest, Stamboliisky still passionately sided with the Allies, finally bearding the king personally in his own palace, whence he was despatched directly to prison for the remaining three years of the war. There he shared with his humblest fellow-sufferers the abundance of rustic fruits and food constantly sent in by his fellow-villagers.

In late September of 1918 the loyal advocate of the Allied cause was brought from

prison directly back to the royal palace. "Czar" Ferdinand abjectly begged him to "save the kingdom." He defiantly declared his readiness to *save the nation*, and hastened toward the front, to return promptly with the mutinous Agrarian regiments. Ferdinand, after a sanguinary struggle, barely held the gates of the capital with the élite of the loyal troops, but abdicated next day in favor of his popular young son, Boris. After a few weeks in hiding, Stamboliisky not only shared in the general amnesty accorded to the mutineers, but became a cabinet minister the next January, and in July one of the five Bulgarian delegates to the Paris Conference. When it was finally made clear to him by an interpreter that they were confined to their quarters in the castle at Neuilly he remarked to a companion (his present biographer): "Ah, I comprehend. In recompense for my three years spent in prison for the Allies, they are putting me into one here!" Impatient of delays, the five returned home, but in November Alexander Stamboliisky, leader of the Cabinet, was again in Neuilly, and on the 27th he alone signed the treaty for Bulgaria.

This engagement he loyally kept. Despite fierce opposition, his iron will held his countrymen to all the burdensome requirements laid upon them, save as they were voluntarily lightened because of this very loyalty. Indeed the foreign policy of this peasant prime minister won the general admiration and gratitude of Europe.

The writer gives a most interesting account of the enthusiastic delight Stamboliisky displayed in the most beautiful civic centers of Western Europe. Amid the recent desolation of Northern France he exclaimed, "Now I see how much Civilization has to forgive." He had a great longing to visit the United States, and when Bulgaria entered the League of Nations he lamented our absence there as the greatest of calamities for the world. It is declared that socially the statesman was most deferential, the best of listeners, genial, witty, philosophic, given to long musing silences, while he adjusted the new ideas he was so hungry to elicit. In his last months he often expressed sadly his desire to escape from his burdens, and even a realization of his failure.



THE "FIFTH AVENUE" OF TOKYO AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE OF SEPTEMBER 1

Building to Withstand Earthquakes

THE art of earthquake-proof construction has engaged the attention of architects, engineers and seismologists for a great many years. There are whole books devoted to the subject, to say nothing of a host of articles in the technical journals. Nearly a decade ago the distinguished French seismologist Count F. de Montessus de Ballore declared that the art had already reached such perfection that only a few minor details were still a subject of controversy. After visiting the scene of the great Messina-Reggio earthquake of 1908, Professor Omori, the Japanese authority, expressed the opinion that out of every thousand persons killed in that terrible disaster, 998 must be regarded as victims of the faulty construction of buildings.

Dr. Bailey Willis, a veteran American geologist, has lately returned from Chile, where he was sent by the Carnegie Institution of Washington to investigate the earthquake that occurred in that country last November. He is credited with the statement: "When it came to the point of a verdict which should place the chief responsibility for the disaster upon the right shoulders, we could not convict the earthquakes. Where nature gives warning after warning, but man remains heedless, he has but him-

self to blame for the consequences. So it was in Chile, so it is in Japan, and so it will be in California or wherever else earthquake risk is carelessly disregarded."

Dr. Willis has contributed to the *Science News-Letter* (Washington, D. C.) an article recounting his experiences in the South American republic. At the town of Vallenar, one of the places visited by last year's quake, he addressed an audience representing people of all classes, who filled a small temporary theater. He thus describes the scene:

In front sat a group of officials, the priest, and the landowners. To the number of fifty they represented that portion of the audience which could read, write, and cipher. The workmen were there in force, few of them wearing anything more than shirt and trousers. There were many women, their dark faces stamped with resignation and half hidden in the black mantillas. Young girls, youths, and street urchins were scattered among their elders, and some of the latter looked down from perches in the rafters. I have spoken to many audiences, but not to any that was more responsive or attentive. This was for them no academic discussion. The earthquake had been a terrible experience and before them was a man who was supposed to know how to guard against a repetition of disaster in Vallenar, or whether they must abandon their city and move to another site, as was proposed. No one of any feeling could look into those dark, sad faces and not realize how urgent is the solution

of the problem of safeguarding the people of earthquake zones from danger. In the presence of that audience it became an immediate obligation to study the causes of failure of the houses as they had been built and to discover methods of building safely with the materials and workmanship at hand.

It is easy, says the writer, to make buildings earthquake-proof if you have the right materials and put them together according to certain principles which he sets forth. Old Chilean buildings pinned with wooden pins and tied with rawhide have passed through the quakes of a century without damage, because they are both strong and elastic.

The introduction of iron nails, which are so easily driven, appear to hold so well, but in fact pull out with ease, has resulted in much weaker frames, that are quite unequal to the task of upholding the heavy walls and roofs of adobe. Back to the good old joinery, should be the cry. Rawhide should be used if convenience and cheapness require, but galvanized fence wire is better when skillfully stretched or tied. And adobe should be used only to fill thin walls, never in heavy masses.

An American frame house, well mortised and pinned, is as safe as reinforced concrete, provided the lath is replaced by fence wire on both the inside and outside of the frame. The wire can be put on in either one of two ways, parallel with both diagonals or parallel with the beams and uprights, and it should be spaced from 3 to 6 inches apart according to the size of the wall and the quality of the plaster. It must be stretched tightly to form a firm network to which the plaster can adhere, and for this reason wire netting does not do as well, because it cannot be drawn as tightly as a continuous strand, which is fastened by staples at every turn.

The difference between the diagonal arrangement and the horizontal-vertical one is important. The former makes a rigid house, the latter a flexible one, and the distinction is the same as that between a springless cart and a carriage. When the quake strikes the former you will feel like a man lying on the bottom of the cart while the team runs away across a rocky pasture, whereas in the flexible house you might think you were up a tree.

There is one thing about building to resist earthquakes that people seem to forget: an earthquake can exert no more force to wreck a building than is necessary to overcome the inertia of the structure, or of some part of it. A heavy mud-roof, such as is heaped on Chilean houses, will wreck and ruin the walls, where one of light shingles would sway with them.

Since, when a quake occurs, it is the earth that moves while the house tries to stand still, one way of averting damage would be to put a ball-bearing between the house and its foundation. It appears that this plan has actually been applied in the construction of a Japanese lighthouse, and Dr. Willis has recommended it to a firm which is considering the building of a warehouse on dangerous ground in Valparaiso. Probably it could be introduced successfully in some combination of bearings, springs or shock-absorbers. The writer adds:

For the ordinary house a broad ditch packed with cobblestones on which there rests a well braced frame of heavy beams would not be a bad substitute. It would allow the ground to slide round under the house, which could be jacked back into position with reference to such unstable things as trees, garden walks, and roads, at your convenience.

Crime from the Medical Viewpoint

THAT most crime is pathological and should be treated accordingly is a well-worn thesis, but one that cannot be too often dwelt upon. Criminal law, as now constituted, makes no distinction between the victim of irresistible vicious instincts, congenital or otherwise, and the man who, with no such excuse for his act, deliberately commits a crime. That medical experts should be employed in the courts as a matter of routine to help in determining the degree of responsibility of a culprit is the belief of Dr. Edwin F. Bowers, who discusses the subject in *American Medicine* (New York City).

Here are some facts, well-known but commonly ignored in the application of the laws:

A blow upon the head, depressing the tables of the skull, may convert a saint into a devil. A jaundiced liver may transform an optimistic Micawber into

a homicidal Bill Sykes. A starved organism may develop moral leprosy. Physical defects, readily curable by slight surgical operations or depleting treatment, may result in depravity.

Increase in the oxygen-carrying power of the blood may produce in the backward, stupid-appearing institution child a wonderfully enhanced ability to absorb knowledge. Free bread and soup, supplied to prospective criminals among our public school children, may thus prove even more indispensable than free books and tuition. Moral colic may be as readily cured as physical colic, if only we knew its causes. Abnormal conditions produce moral irresponsibility.

Dr. Bowers cites the typical case of a gentleman, now confined in an Eastern penitentiary, who became a kleptomaniac after receiving a violent blow on the head in a duel at a German university.

He exhibited such blundering judgment, from the viewpoint of a burglar, that one evening after clumsily breaking into the house of a family who were

away, and gathering together some useless knick-knacks, he switched on the lights, lit a cigar, and was pouring out his soul in rhapsodical improvisation at the piano when he was interrupted by a policeman pressing the muzzle of a revolver against his temple. He "got the limit."

A surgical operation relieving his brain of the pressure from that bony indentation might or might not have cured him of his kleptomania. No one knows, because no attempt was ever made to determine. Technically, he was guilty. Morally, we may be, for neglecting to attempt to cure him.

In Philadelphia a great surgeon, with the human equation keenly developed, is operating from time to time upon boys who are sent to the reform school for unlawful acts. One little chap, with a penchant for burning houses and barns (he burned quite a number before he was finally captured), came under the surgeon's notice. A trephine operation was made, a small circular button of the skull removed, and a silver plate placed over the opening, and this boy's pyromania was completely eradicated.

Unfortunately, these operations, like certain others guaranteed to prevent hereditary criminals and degenerates from being born, are rarely performed, owing to the prejudice of an insufficiently enlightened public.

The writer discusses various conditions under which the criminal is not, in a purely ethical sense, wholly responsible for his crime. There is the case of the person under the influence of liquor or drugs, and that of the person who is handicapped from birth by vicious heredity and environment. The writer mentions the less familiar case of persons whose actions are influenced by "the profoundly depressing effects of poisons generated by putrefactive decomposition in the intestines."

Summing up, he says:

Where do free will and rationality leave off, and irresponsibility and irrationality begin? How shall we bring law more into accord with the law of nature? The jurist cannot decide these questions

alone. Nor can the criminologist give him the necessary facts. They must work in conjunction with the medical expert. The first step must be in dissociating honest differences in opinion from rank quibbling trickery and deception. Expert evidence must become honest in order to have authority. There are difficulties in plenty in the way, especially when it comes to questions apart from surgery. Surgery is more or less in a realm of exact science.

But medicine is not an exact science; purely medical cases, and those peculiar "twists" with which the nerve specialist has to deal, are much more obscure. There is a wide range of difference in opinion between experts—perhaps honestly founded—as to just what extent certain conditions may influence criminal actions. So that under our present system of "testifying" they seem much more eager to establish a point than they are to demonstrate a fact.

Now is it not probable that a nearer approximation of the truth might be secured if, instead of depending upon men who are biased in favor on the side that has retained them, we submitted all questions of a medical nature to a tribunal of three or five physicians appointed under Civil Service procedure, or elected, possibly by their local medical body, because of peculiar fitness for this work; these men to become experts in fact, not for hire—masters of the sciences of sociology, criminality, insanity, pathology, and everything bearing upon a deeper appreciation of and familiarity with problems that they will be called upon to define, analyze and solve? These experts would take the last work of the world's greatest authorities as a basis for their deliberations, having for their guidance all memoranda connected with vigilant observations and exhaustive study of physical and mental defects in the criminal.

Then, with all physical, chemical and pathologic means at their command, to enable them to weigh every scintilla of evidence, removed from the grueling insulting quibble and fence of the attorneys, seeking the truth with every means that science affords, if a majority of these specialists presented to the trial judge and jury their opinions as to the responsibility or irresponsibility of the culprit, it would be received with respect, and mark a dignified and honorable departure from our present system.

China and the Powers

RECENTLY the news came that the powers had intervened again in the government of China for the protection of their subjects. Monsieur André Duboscq in *L'Europe Nouvelle* of August 25 explains the political situation of China at the time of the intervention and traces the currents of thought and action that had produced this situation.

In spite of the Pekin Government's weakness [Monsieur Duboscq declares] or rather because of its weakness, some politicians not too well-advised succeeded last January in passing a resolution in

Parliament declaring null and void the famous "twenty-one demands" of Japan's ultimatum to China of May 7, 1915. The Chinese legislators even insisted upon the government obtaining from Japan the restitution of Port Arthur and of Dalny before March 26th. March 26th, it is well to recall, was the date on which expired China's lease of Port Arthur and Dalny to Russia. In 1905 China had consented to Russia's transfer of that part of the leased possessions comprised in the peninsula of Liao-Tung.

Japan formally refused to give up the Chinese ports, and as the Chinese Government was too weak to enforce its demand, it was believed that the President Li Yuan-Hung would be deposed. The President was made aware of this under-current

in no uncertain manner by the attack on his train at Lincheng, and at the end of May his message to Parliament reminded the representatives that his term was approaching its end. But in June Li refused to sign some decrees of appointment of officials, and his ministers resigned in a body under the pretext that this refusal constituted an illegal encroachment upon their rights. Some days later the police and military guards of Peking rioted. Tsao-Kun, the commander of the Chihli district, threatened to march with his troops into Peking to maintain order there, but in reality to force Li to resign.

On the 14th of June Li Yuan-Hung took the train for Tien-tsin, but he had not given up the seals of government before leaving, and his train was stopped at the Tien-tsin station until he abdicated power. He was then allowed to fly to the English concession of that town.

But he had scarcely found a lodging before he declared that his abdication was obtained by force and appointed a vice-regent as President of the Cabinet and a minister of war with full powers. He then called to his help the Marshal Chang Tso-Lin. At Peking the Senate and lower House declared these decrees null, but did not succeed in obtaining the necessary votes for Li Yuan-Hung's deposition.

But the day after the President's departure, the Foreign Minister had informed the diplomatic corps of the cabinet's decision to return to their posts and to take turns as premier. Since then Mr. Wellington Koo has taken the portfolio of foreign affairs, but the President's seat has remained vacant.

These affairs of a purely local interest would have caused the powers little or no concern, although they amounted to a chronic state of anarchy. But incidents of another kind had been occupying the attention of the Peking legation for some time. The bandits had been kidnapping foreigners and holding them for ransom throughout China.

At the beginning of May, the dean of the diplomatic corps, M. de Freitas, the Portuguese minister, had called the Foreign Secretary's attention to the risks incurred by foreigners traveling in the interior. The Foreign Secretary promised the aid of all the Chinese authorities for foreign subjects.

But some days later, on May 6, in the Lincheng hold-up of the train from Tien-tsin by a thousand armed men, there was killed one British subject and twenty-six foreigners, men and women, were carried off by the bandits, as well as the Chinese passengers.

Hitherto the foreigners had been respected, and it was feared that this respect, which amounted almost to a superstition, might disappear, if the powers did not bare their teeth. The Chinese national feeling so evident at the Peace Conference in the speech and written word of her educated classes, has not been shown in the masses by such a rabid hate of aliens since 1900. The foreigners took alarm at once and the Diplomatic Corps gave the Chinese Government an ultimatum of twenty-four hours at the end of which the Chinese would be held responsible if the foreign prisoners were not freed and the bandits severely punished. Every day's delay was to be fined by a heavy indemnity.

In the meantime all immediate advances on the loan which China was negotiating with foreign financiers through the Peking branch banks were postponed until solid guarantees should be given for the safety of aliens. The international legal

conference on the question of extraterritoriality—which was to meet this autumn, as decided upon at the Washington Conference—was also postponed indefinitely.

The Peking government, therefore, parleyed with the leader of the Lincheng bandits and obtained the freedom of the prisoners by a heavy ransom and the enlistment of the bandits in the regular army from which the greater number had deserted.

The *Echo de Chine* made the following comment on this move:

We learn to-day that the Tien-tsin Fu-chow railway is guarded by the bandits who kidnapped the foreigners and Chinese at Lincheng. The government has enlisted all the bandits in the vast organization known as the Chinese army, and their leader, having won the grade of general, has guaranteed to the government the regularity of traffic in the territory placed within their jurisdiction. The situation is a clear proof of the weakness of the central government.

The procedure, however singular, is not novel in China. More than one general or marshal now playing a considerable rôle has antecessors not a whit more honorable.

The foreign prisoners were freed at once, but three months later the powers delivered a note to Mr. Wellington Koo exacting indemnities, guarantees and penalties. These were in short as follows: Every Lincheng victim should receive compensation for actual property losses and an indemnity of eight thousand Chinese dollars, of £1140 sterling. The British government demanded £2850 for the death of a British subject. A military expedition must be immediately organized with the best Chinese troops to restore order in the provinces. The military government of Shantung, the military commander of the Lincheng district and the chief of police of the same district should be immediately punished with the utmost severity.

Great Britain sent in June four men-of-war to the China Seas to enforce these demands, and France sent the *Jules Ferry*, the *Victor Hugo* and some airships. The United States and Japan also sent men-of-war.

The Chinese have entrusted General Munthe, a Swedish ex-subaltern, with the duty of protecting the railways.

In any case [concludes M. Duboscq] it seems perfectly fair and impartial to say that in the midst of anarchy caused by the everlasting quarrels of the four Chinese warring political factions—Fengtien, Anfu, Chihli and Kuomintang—the powers should be free to concern themselves as to the protection of their subjects by any means they consider efficacious without being accused on that account of encroachment on the sovereignty of China.

A New Kind of College Education

FOR several years the attention of persons interested in higher education has been directed to Antioch College, Ohio, where novel methods of supervising the work and play of the student body have been put in operation under the administration of President Arthur E. Morgan.

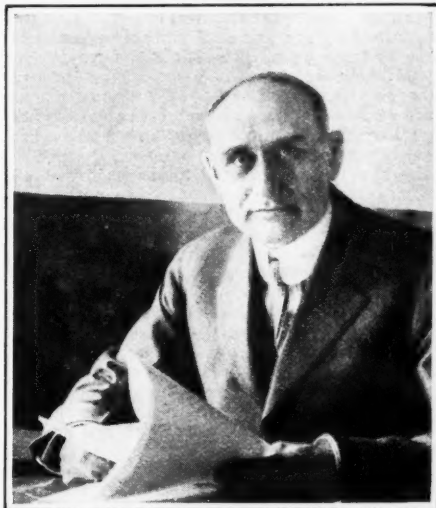
Mr. Morgan contributes to the October *Century* an exposition of his educational ideals and an account of the attempt made at Antioch to realize them.

We have undertaken to say that while the education of every student should be adapted to his own powers, interests, and needs, yet he shall within reasonable limits undertake that development which we believe to be of universal value. What are some of these qualities of personality that are universally desirable? First place we would give to sound physical health. This is so fundamental a necessity that we say no Antioch student can remain with us unless he will give reasonable attention to his physical condition. Careful physical examinations are followed by corrective exercises or other treatment, if necessary, and by required regular exercise, the student being given a wide choice as to its form.

Second, we believe that economic competence is a universal necessity. I have no patience with the academic college president who boasts that he is not training men to make a living, but is training them to live. Until one has learned how to discharge his obligations to society, he does not know how to live. "For we all must work or steal, howsoever we name our stealing." Whatever our positions, we actually make demands upon society for food, clothing, shelter, and a multitude of other needs. Unless in some way we are producing, be it music or food or poetry or steel rails, we are parasites.

When freshmen students reach us at Antioch, we turn their attention to their vocational choices. Such choice with the average student is no quick, easy process. Students do not know themselves, their qualifications, or the demands of various vocations. There is a great deal of blundering and floundering, even with the best of advice and consultation. Sometimes the student is more than half-way through his course before he finds his right place, but that is better than beginning to look for it after he is graduated, and better than depending on his snap judgment as a freshman in choosing his calling.

The average man and woman must know how to live within limited financial resources. Most of us have to limit our expenditures to less money than we should like. So we ask every Antioch freshman to take a course in personal finance. At the beginning of this course each student brings to class a budget of his purposed expenditures for the year. Many of these are out of proportion in about as many ways as budgets can be. We meet these students in classes, discuss their budgets, and suggest general types. Thereafter, once every ten weeks, the freshman student brings his budget to the head of the accounting department, and they check it over together. In the personal-finance



PRESIDENT ARTHUR E. MORGAN OF ANTIOCH COLLEGE

course we acquaint the student with ordinary accounting and banking processes. This may not seem like a "cultural" subject, and yet the necessity for living within a limited income is a universal experience for which students should be prepared.

So much publicity has been given to the fact that Antioch students spend part of their time in economic work, that an impression may have been created that Antioch is not interested in so-called liberal studies. According to this statement by President Morgan, the contrary is true:

Many of our students come with the aim of taking engineering or commercial courses, and one of our most important undertakings is that of redistributing the interests of these young people so that they will see life normally and whole and will include cultural as well as technical subjects in their programs. We hear a great deal in recent years about "interest" in education; that interest is the mainspring of educational development. This is true, and yet interest is not so much a form of intelligence as it is a form of energy. What young people are going to be interested in, at least so far as college courses are concerned, commonly depends on the interests presented to them and on what their associates are interested in. They are inclined to pick up interests haphazardly. Seldom do we find a student who has tried in any effective manner to think things out in order to appraise his interests. I believe it is a very large part of the work of any college to use salesmanship, presenting the issues of life to young people so that they will see and value them in perspective and proportion.

We require professional students, as those in engineering or business administration, to give as much time to cultural subjects that have no apparent relation to specific calling as they give to their vocations. We require a student to give at least two years to literature, and shall probably extend that time to three years. The student is required to spend about five years in social science (history, economics, and sociology). We require him to have a fundamental knowledge of sciences: physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, and earth science (which includes geology and astronomy). We require him to be introduced to the history of philosophy.

These are not courses he may take, but are fields to which he must, if he will have a degree from Antioch, secure a substantial introduction, whether he is an engineering student, business student, or what not.

At Antioch about half of the classroom and study time even of professional and technical students is given to "liberal" subjects. The normal course of an Antioch student is six years. In order to provide opportunity and incentive for the development of those underlying qualities of personality which are developed primarily by contact with real life, the school is divided into five-week periods, and the student body spends alternate periods at study and at practical economic work, where they are under prevailing economic conditions, and must make good, as other men and women do in industry. The student body is divided into two groups, which alternate between work and study, two students being required to fill each job.

President Morgan sums up the more important details of the general principle adopted at Antioch as follows:

That professional as well as liberal students shall endeavor to enter into their inheritance from the

past through an acquaintance with great literature, history, art, and philosophy.

That they shall gain a knowledge of the world they live in through the natural sciences and the social sciences.

That they shall develop the habit of accurate observation and analysis through study of the sciences and through practical experiences.

That they shall develop valid purposes and aspirations and moral and spiritual incentives largely by being given intimate contact with people who are controlled by such motives, by an orderly study of life purposes, by a conscious desire to bring the elements of character and personality into perspective, and by carrying a reasonable share of the economic burden of society.

That they shall be encouraged and helped to find their vocations and to prepare for them.

That development of the basic qualities of personality, such as initiative, courage, adaptability, responsibility, persistence, and tact, be stimulated by placing students in situations where these qualities are absolute essentials. The best device we have for this development is our part-time working program, which includes a reasonable element of self-support for student and institution.

That there should be brought about that actual mastery and knowledge of the student's own personality and of life which comes only by abundant contact with reality. This includes putting the student into situations where to succeed he must discover and use his utmost resources of courage, interest, and determination. Great power can come only by such great effort.

That development of social responsibility and social skill be promoted. American society cannot persist if made up of specialists, each interested only in his own functions. Students must be prepared to exercise the general functions of citizens as well as the special functions of their callings.

That the development and maintenance of physical health shall be definitely provided for.

The Master Sculptor of the Middle West

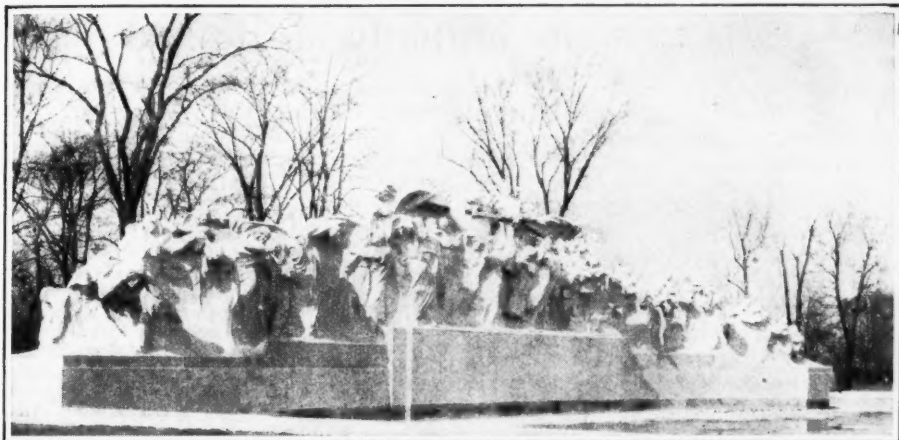
THE art of Lorado Taft, the American sculptor, is unique, and so is his position in the life of the Middle West. Writing of him in the *Mentor* (New York), his friend Hamlin Garland says: "He is fundamentally a teacher, an evangelist who has felt it his duty to bring to the people of the Middle West, and especially of Chicago, a wider knowledge of art and a keener appreciation of what was being done by the Eastern men as well as the great masters of Europe."

Born in Illinois, of New England parents, Taft studied sculpture in Paris and then established himself in Chicago, where he soon became prominent not only as a sculptor but also as a speaker and writer on art subjects. He has been a popular lecturer at the Chicago Art Institute and

has made addresses all over the surrounding portions of the country, delivering altogether nearly four thousand lectures, besides writing industriously for magazines and newspapers.

In Chicago he is surrounded by a group of enthusiastic pupils and co-workers.

Some fifteen or sixteen years ago he became convinced that it was a mistake to maintain his studio in the tumult of Chicago, and upon being offered the rent of a stable in the rear of a Midway Chapter House belonging to the University of Chicago, he took a lease upon this building and moved all of his activities as a sculptor and lecturer to this quiet spot. Almost immediately he began to expand; year by year he built new studios for himself and studios for his friends and pupils, until at last it became a colony of workers in sculpture. Nothing else just like it exists in this country. It is due entirely to Taft's generosity and (some of us say)



LORADO TAIT'S "THE FOUNTAIN OF TIME," CAST IN CONCRETE

his kindly but unwarranted aid to struggling young artists.

He argues, however, that, as one is called upon to build great groups of outdoor sculpture, it is necessary to have a large studio and to maintain a force of assistants in order that certain results may be achieved within his lifetime. In this there is logic, but some of us still think that his humanitarian overhead charges are too great.

In these studios, and by means of his young assistants, he has built some of the most significant groups of statuary in America. Among the first of these is one called "The Great Lakes," a group of beautiful female figures typifying the five great lakes of inland America. In his studio also he conceived and worked out to a triumphant finish "The Fountain of Time," which was last year put into concrete by the South Park commissioners, and stands just at the west end of the Midway at Washington Park. This is one of the most colossal undertakings in the history of American sculpture. I do not presume to pass upon its technical qualities, but I am fitted to speak of the persistence, the tact, and the administrative skill which he displayed during the eleven years of its construction. I saw it grow "from a minute model in clay to this magnificent final monument."

Taft's generosity and civic enthusiasm can be made plain by stating some of the facts with regard to his contributions. He gave all the work and a large part of the cost of the colossal figure of "Blackhawk," which stands on a Rock River bluff just south of Eagles' Nest Camp; and recently he has taken a very active interest in the plan to preserve the beautiful building in Jackson Park which was the Art Museum in 1893, and which was subsequently occupied by the Field Columbian Museum.

In recent years Taft's main interest has been the sculptural decoration of Chicago's famous Midway. The Fountain of Time was the initial achievement in this undertaking. His plan

presupposes a straight and formal canal running through the existing depressions of this broad

avenue. This canal is to be spanned by three bridges of monumental design, dedicated to the three fundamental ideals of the race. They are to be called, respectively, "*The Bridge of the Sciences*," "*The Bridge of the Arts*," and "*The Bridge of Religions*." Along the roadways upon either side of the canal he would place statues of the world's greatest idealists, ranged at half-block intervals and treated as architectural notes which would connect the bridges with the fountains and unite the various features of the decorative scheme.

At the west end of the Midway and heading the canal already rises "The Fountain of Time." For the eastern end Taft has designed "*The Fountain of Creation*," or Evolution.

This "Fountain of Creation" upon which he is at work will face the Midway, just west of the Illinois Central viaduct. Its motif is the classic myth of Deucalion, the Noah of Greek legend. Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha, being the only mortals saved by Zeus after the nine days' flood, stepped out from their frail boat on the top of Mount Parnassus, and consulted an oracle as to the best way of restoring the human race. They were told to cover their heads and throw the bones of their mother behind them. Pyrrha divined that these bones were the stones of Mother Earth.

The monument will show us the moment when these stones cast from the Titan's hands are changing into men and women. The composition begins with creatures half-formed, vague, prostrate, blindly emerging from the shapeless rock; continues at higher level with figures fully developed and almost erect, but still groping in darkness—struggling, wondering, and wandering, until its climax is reached with an elevated group of human forms, complete and glorious, saluting the dawn.

"The Fountain of Time" shows the human procession passing in review before the stern, immovable figure of Time. Father Time is represented by a rugged, mysterious shape apparently reviewing a throng of hastening people combined in a series of waves. A warrior on horseback, flanked by banners and dancing figures, forms the center of the composition, which fades off at one end into creeping infancy and, at the other end, into the bent and withered figures of old age.

Electricity in the Industries

AN IMPORTANT article in the *Electrical World* (New York) reports the rapid progress that has been made in the electrification of American industries. The three great forces that keep the wheels of industry in motion are water power, steam power and electric power. Water power was once supreme; then it was eclipsed by steam; to-day electricity has taken the lead.

Twenty years ago the chief use of electricity was for illumination. Only two-thirds as much was used for power purposes as for lighting. At that period the industries of the entire country consumed less than one-quarter of the amount of electric energy now generated in the city of Chicago. Last year more than twenty-two billion kilowatt-hours of electric energy was consumed in the manufacturing plants, mines, wells, quarries and irrigation plants of the country, while only about eight billion kilowatt-hours, or one-third as much, was used for lighting. We read:

There are approximately three hundred thousand manufacturing establishments in the United States using mechanical power of some kind. To this number must be added the thousands of mining companies, quarries, wells and irrigation plants, as well as electric railways. Based on the United States Census of Manufactures and the probable growth since 1910, it is estimated that the installed primary power of the manufacturing plants of this country totaled 30,500,000 horse power on Jan. 1, 1923. In 1902 the installed primary power was approximately 12,000,000 horse power, indicating a multiplication of about two and one-half times during this twenty-year period. In 1902 electric drive was in its infancy, the records indicating only about a million installed motor horse power. On Jan. 1 of the present year, however, the motor installation in manufacturing plants had grown to 19,000,000 horse power, an increase of 1800 per cent. during the twenty-year interval, or a growth twelve times as fast as indicated for the total installed primary power of the country.

Electrical power makes its first appearance in the census of 1880, when only 15,569 horse power installed motor rating was reported. From that time, however, the rise of the electric motor has been by leaps and bounds, the total installed motor rating overtaking the total waterwheel and turbine rating during the interval between 1904 and 1909, and gradually gaining on the steam drive until the period subsequent to the peak war activity, during which reports indicate that electric drive has far outdistanced steam drive in the manufacturing plants of America.

According to circumstances, the manufacturer generates electricity on his own premises or buys it from a central station.

The tendency of the present day is strongly toward the latter plan. In 1904 only 28 per cent. of the electrical energy used in American factories was obtained from central stations. In 1909 the percentage was 36, in 1914 it was 44, and to-day it is estimated at 61 per cent.

How much further the ascendancy of the central stations will continue is problematical because there are undoubtedly certain industries, such as the iron and steel, paper and electro-chemical, in which bulk manufacture lends itself to the use of electrical propulsion to a high degree but also to the fact that the full development of this industry has taken place subsequent to the time when the electric motor came to be acknowledged as the most practical type of propulsion. Other group industries which are highly electrified are the leather, 67.3 per cent.; non-ferrous metals, 68.4 per cent., and railroad repair shops, 84.9 per cent.

It was in 1801 that the first electric motors were installed in a steel mill, these being three direct-current motors in the Edgar Thomson Works of the Carnegie Steel Company. Other installations soon followed, but the enormous power requirements and the severe service seemed beyond the scope of electric motors, and it was not until about 1905 that the problem of electric drive for the main rolls of the steel mills was solved. The mining industry, taken as a whole, is also a large consumer of electrical energy and ranks next to the iron and steel industry in rating of installed motors. The industry is only a little over 42 per cent. electrified, however. This is the sole industry in which the internal-combustion engine comes near to being the controlling factor as a prime mover.

One of the oldest industrial uses of electrical energy is that of electric arc welding. Back in 1887 Bernados received a patent covering the use of the electric arc for this purpose. A few years later Salvianoff introduced a process for casting metal into blowholes of defective castings by producing an arc between an electrode consisting of a metallic rod and the metal being welded.

The field of electric arc welding may be said to be virtually unlimited. Almost every industry employing iron and steel or other alloys can utilize it to advantage. The process is used not only for joining two pieces of metal, but also for cutting metal, building on or adding to other metal parts. New fields for its successful use are being discovered every day.

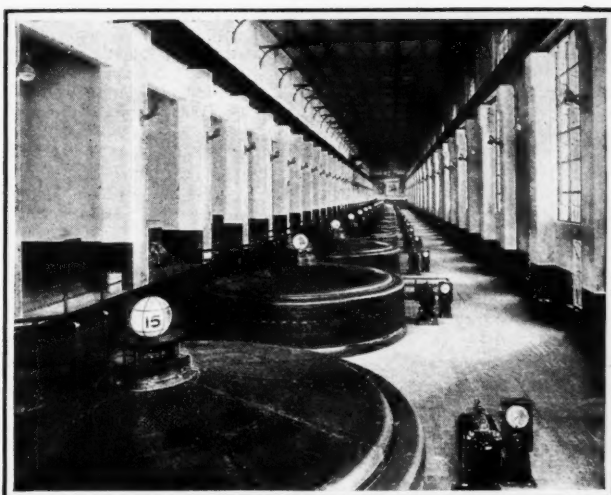
Among the many later uses of electric energy is its application to automobile trucks. How promising is this field is indicated by the following statement, quoted from Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz:

"If electric trucks were now in use where gasoline trucks and horse-drawn vehicles are doing less efficient work, the saving in operating costs in the United States would total more than half a billion dollars annually—\$575,000,000, to be exact. In New York City alone the annual saving to present

users of electric trucks over other types of equipment is \$6,000,000, and more than \$50,000,000 could be saved if the electric truck were used for those purposes for which it is best suited. Electric trucks can operate more economically than gasoline trucks for 37 per cent. of the commercial vehicle needs, 10 per cent. of the motor-bus needs and 10 per cent. of motor farm needs."

The use of electric energy as a source of heat rather than power is rapidly expanding in the industries, some of which it has virtually revolutionized. Electric welding has been referred to above. Great electro-chemical plants have grown up in this country since early in the war period. The electric furnace and electrolytic processes are daily assuming greater importance in metallurgy. There are now more than 400 electric furnaces installed in the United States. Nearly half a million tons of steel

was produced by electric processes in the United States last year. The making of aluminum, too, is based on electrolysis.



GENERATORS WHICH TRANSFORM WATER POWER INTO ELECTRICITY

(This is the interior of the Mississippi River Power Company's plant at Keokuk, Ia. A dam thrown across the river near the Des Moines rapids creates a water-fall of thirty feet or more; and the falling water turns these turbine generators. Each generator produces 10,000 horse-power of electrical energy.)

Science and the Anti-Evolutionists

A STATEMENT grossly garbled and misquoted by sensational newsmongers from an address delivered by one of the world's leading biologists at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was the starting point in the amazing revolt against the teaching of evolution that has lately been sweeping over the United States. At the meeting of December, 1921, held in Toronto, a distinguished British visitor, Professor William Bateson, "dropped the spark which started the fire," as he puts it in a current number of *Nature*. Professor Bateson proceeds to explain how it all came about and delivers some trenchant comments on the "interesting and somewhat disconcerting phenomenon" of which he was the innocent cause. He says:

At the Toronto meeting of the American Association I was addressing a scientific gathering, mainly professional. The opportunity was unique inasmuch as the audience included most of the American geneticists, a body several hundreds strong, who

have advanced that science with such extraordinary success. I therefore took occasion to emphasize the fact that though no one doubts the truth of evolution, we have as yet no satisfactory account of that particular part of the theory which is concerned with the origin of *species* in the strict sense. The purpose of my address was to urge my colleagues to bear this part of the problem constantly in mind, for to them the best chances of a solution are likely to occur. This theme was of course highly academic and technical. Nevertheless, to guard against misrepresentation, I added the following paragraph by the advice of a friend whose judgment proved sound, though to me such an addition looked superfluous:

"I have put before you very frankly the considerations which have made us agnostic as to the actual mode and processes of evolution. When such confessions are made the enemies of science see their chance. If we cannot declare here and now how species arose, they will obligingly offer us the solutions with which obscurantism is satisfied. Let us then proclaim in precise and unmistakable language that our faith in evolution is unshaken. Every available line of argument converges on this inevitable conclusion. The obscurantist has nothing to suggest which is worth a moment's attention. The difficulties which weigh upon the professional biologist need not trouble the layman. Our doubts are not as to the reality or truth of evolution, but

as to the origin of *species*, a technical, almost domestic, problem. Any day that mystery may be solved. The discoveries of the last twenty-five years enable us for the first time to discuss these questions intelligently and on a basis of fact. That synthesis will follow on analysis, we do not and cannot doubt."

The season must have been a dull one, for upon this rather cold scent the more noisy newspapers went off full cry, with scare-headings "Darwin Downed," and the like.

The resulting wave of popular excitement and the well-nigh successful efforts made in several States to pass laws prohibiting the teaching of evolution are matters of such recent history that they need not be recorded here. Here is Professor Bateson's comment:

The chief interest of these proceedings lies in the indications they give of what is to be expected from a genuine democracy which has thrown off authority and has begun to judge for itself on questions beyond its mental range. Those who have the capacity, let alone the knowledge and the leisure, to form independent judgments on such subjects have never been more than a mere fraction of any population. We have been passing through a period in which, for reasons not altogether clear, this numerically insignificant fraction has been able to impose its authority on the primitive crowds by whom it is surrounded. There are signs that we may be soon about to see the consequences of the recognition of "equal rights," in a public recrudescence of earlier views. In Great Britain, for example, we may witness before long the results which overtake a democracy unable to tolerate the Vaccination Act, and protecting only some 38 per cent. of its children.

As men of science we are happily not concerned to consider whether a return to Nature, as a policy, will make for collective happiness or not. Nor is it, perhaps, of prime importance that the people of Kentucky or even of "Main Street" should be rightly instructed in evolutionary philosophy. Mr. Bryan may have been quite right in telling them that it was better to know "Rock of Ages" than the ages of rocks. If we are allowed to gratify our abnormal instincts in the search for natural truth, we must be content, and we may be thankful if we are not all hanged like the Clerk of Chatham, with our ink-horns about our necks.

For the present we in Europe are fairly safe. A brief outbreak on the part of ecclesiastical authority did follow the publication of the "Origin of Species," but that is now perceived to have been a mistake. The convictions of the masses may be trusted to remain in essentials what they have always been; and I suppose that if science were to declare tomorrow that man descends from slugs or from centipedes, no episcopal lawn would be ruffled here. Unfortunately the American incidents suggest that our destinies may not much longer remain in the hands of that exalted tribunal, and that trouble may not be so far off as we have supposed.

A year after the Toronto meeting the council of the American Association published an emphatic statement to the effect that "no scientific generalization is more strongly supported by thoroughly tested evidences than is that of organic evolution," and that "the evidences in favor of the evolution of man are sufficient to convince every scientist of note in the world, and these evidences are increasing in number and importance every year."

Insect Life of Long Ago

ENTOMOLOGISTS will have their hands full for a long time to come with the task of sorting out the living species of insects, estimated to number some ten million. Nevertheless some of them have turned aside from this job to undertake excursions into the remote past, and have described several thousand species of insects known only from their fossil remains. Says Prof. Charles T. Brues, in the *Scientific Monthly*:

The fortunate circumstances that have aided the insect paleontologist are: First, the fact that the skeleton of the insect—if we may thus designate the wholly organic hard parts of the body—are entirely external and may thus be examined in the most minute detail in superficial view; and second, that the earlier insects, which have suffered more severely from the ravages of time, were larger than most living species, some of really gigantic size; finally, many Tertiary insects are so wonderfully preserved that even the microscopic body-hairs and color can

be made out on the surface of the finely laminated shale within which they are imbedded, while the specimens found in amber are still more nearly perfect.

Professor Brues then discusses in order the several geological periods that have yielded fossil insects, beginning with the early Carboniferous age. Insect life appears to have burst forth in full glory in the Tertiary, from which 7,000 species have been described. It is an interesting fact that insects and mammals were already biologically linked at that period, for among the former we find fossil fleas, bot-flies, mosquitoes and other blood-sucking flies.

The preservation of insects in amber has supplied similes and metaphors to literature. Our writer says:

Of all fossil insects, those of Oligocene age, imbedded in Baltic amber, are the most beautifully

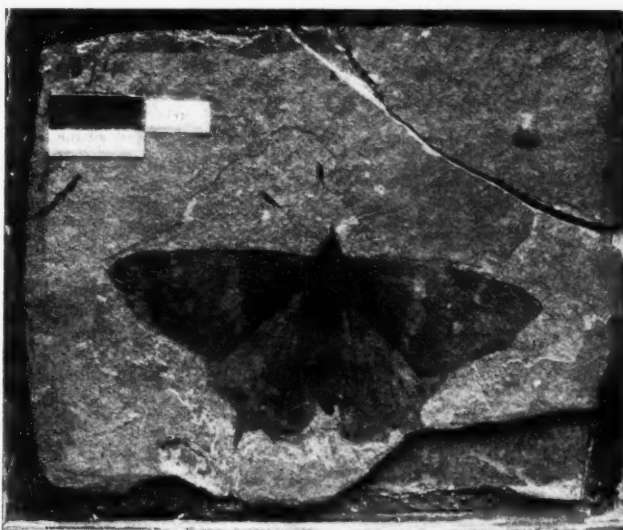
preserved, and by far the most satisfactory to study. Moreover, the supply of amber insects is almost unlimited. The finest collection extant, that of the Zoölogical Museum of the University of Königsberg, contains more than 100,000 specimens, and there are many smaller collections in various other places. As is well known, amber is the fossilized resin of certain coniferous trees, the Baltic amber derived, at least in great part, from *Pinus succinalis*, a fossil species related to our modern pines. After exuding from the tree, and while still in a viscous condition, many insects were caught on its surface, just as they are at the present day on the sticky mess of rosin and castor-oil, known as tangle foot, prepared for this specific purpose. Thus encased in the gradually hardened amber, the included insects are as perfectly preserved as though freshly mounted in Canada balsam, notwithstanding the lapse of several million years, or possibly of even 30 or 40 million years, according to some recent estimates.

The study of amber deposits enables the entomologist to trace the habits of long ago insects, as well as discover their forms.

There are a number of insects of diverse sorts which at the present time make their abode only in the nests of ants. One entire family of beetles, the *Paussidae*, have such habits, and the occurrence of several genera of typical paussids in amber leaves no doubt as to the association of these myrmecophiles with ants in the Oligocene. Still more striking is the occurrence of mites on the hind tibia of an amber species of *Lasius*. Two worker ants each have a mite attached at exactly the same place. Modern ants of the genus *Lasius* are similarly infected by large mites of the genus *Antennophorus*, which also attach themselves to the bodies of the worker ants in definite positions, usually on the head. Feeding upon the honey-dew secreted by aphids or plant-lice is a widespread habit among recent ants, and there exist in amber inclusions containing worker ants together with aphids, which they were undoubtedly attending in a similar way.

Besides the fossil insects found in amber, many specimens occur in petrified form, imbedded in rock. The richest deposits of the latter are of the Miocene age.

The "petrified" Miocene insect-remains are imbedded in finely laminated shales which readily split into layers of paper-like thinness, disclosing the insects flattened out and imbedded between adjacent layers. Thus enclosed in true rock, the remains still retain to some extent their organic



From the Scientific Monthly

FOSSIL BUTTERFLY FROM MIOCENE SHALES AT FLORISSANT, COLO.

composition, although highly carbonized. Consequently the color pattern is often well preserved, and even the metallic color of certain kinds, due in life to diffraction by the superficial layers of the chitinous body-wall, is still evident. Microscopic examination is possible and shows many details of structure.

These Miocene deposits are known mainly from three places, one at Radoboj in Croatia (lower Miocene), another at Florissant, Colorado (probably middle Miocene), and the third at Oeningen, Bavaria (upper Miocene). Of these, the Florissant deposits have been most exhaustively studied, first by Scudder and more recently by Cockerell.

The fossils are found in what was an old lake bed, where they were entombed in material formed by volcanic dust rapidly settling in the waters of the lake. As the chitinous exoskeleton of insects rapidly disintegrates in water, it seems probable that the cement-like character of the dust was an important factor in producing the large numbers of finely preserved specimens.

As with the amber insects, many biological relations may be inferred or surmised from a study of the Florissant fossils. An interesting discovery is the finding of several species of *Glossina*, the well-known tsetse-flies, now confined to the African continent. The first was found by Scudder, who regarded it as a bot-fly, but its rediscovery together with three other species by Cockerell enabled him to determine without the slightest question that true tsetse-flies occurred in Colorado during the Miocene. As these flies now carry the trypanosomes of human sleeping sickness and of several fatal diseases of large mammals, it needs no great reach of the imagination to suppose that these Miocene flies may have been instrumental in causing the extinction of certain large mammals formerly abundant in North America. As a matter of fact such a theory previously expressed by Osborn as a possible reason becomes a plausible one after the discovery of the tsetse-flies.

News from Nature's World

The Homing Ant and How It Finds Its Way

THE well-known entomologist, Brun, who has devoted especial attention to the sense of orientation in ants, finds that they make their way home after an expedition from the nest by the combined use of the three senses of sight, touch, and smell. He made certain experiments in order to see which of these is the most important. This he found to be smell and other observers have agreed with him, but there has been some obscurity in the matter of just how this sense operates, since the paths leading from the nest run in every direction and the same odor clings to all of them. A more recent experimenter, Mr. H. Heller, has sought to answer this question by observing the behavior of the insects upon artificial paths instead of those made by themselves. The result of these observations is abstracted in *Die Umschau* (Frankfurt) from an account in the *Naturwissenschaftlichen Wochenschrift*.

He first caused the insects to crawl over paper covered with lamp-black and noted that after having traveled for a distance of one millimetre the ant made three strokes upon the surface with the end of its abdomen. After the little creature had crawled over the paper for a time or two the characteristic odor of formic acid was plainly perceptible; this acid was excreted during the whole course of the insect, thus affording a signal to the sense of smell. Mr. Henning, the observer, next painted a pathway up a tree from the ground as far as he could reach with a solution of formic acid. The result was most interesting. Even before he had made a connection by means of the acid solution from the foot of the tree to one of the natural "roads" running from the nest, from ten to twenty ants made their way up the artificial path upon the tree, though the latter had not been visited by them before. These pioneers were quickly followed by others until nearly the whole personnel of the nest had thus been led astray by the artifice. The conclusion drawn was that the insects reacted strongly to the odor of the formic acid solution which was more concentrated than that in their own bodies. The stimulus was so strong that even while the path was still moist the ants began to travel over it, though

they particularly dislike to get their feet wet, always avoiding damp places. Curiously enough, the same effect was produced not only by formic acid itself, but by other chemicals having a similar odor, such as formaldehyde, for example. One interesting point proved by the experiment is, that it is not the smell of food which exerts the attraction, but the smell peculiar to the insects themselves.

The Habits and Morals of European and American Cuckoos

For hundreds of years the cuckoo has been one of the birds considered most interesting and mentioned most often in European literature. This is partly because of its unusual note expressed, as the rhetoricians have it, onomatopoeically in its name, which is a direct expression of the sound of its song, but also because of its singular domestic habits. The European cuckoo is, in fact, morally depraved, if we may consider animals to have any sort of a conscience. Instead of building its own nest and incubating its own young, as is the highly proper habit of birds in general, it lays its eggs in the nest of a neighbor of different species. When the young cuckoo hatches beneath the brooding wings of its foster mother, it proceeds to kick out its smaller and weaker foster brothers and sisters of the original brood or else the unhatched eggs. The foster parents, strange to say, instead of resenting this unwarranted intrusion in their domestic affairs, appear to reconcile themselves to the situation willy-nilly, and proceed to feed the greedy stranger which has murdered their own offspring, and this with devoted care.

We are happy to say that this monstrous habit is peculiar to the European cuckoos, as a general rule. The American cuckoos, both of the black-billed and yellow-billed species, usually build a nest of sorts rudely constructed of sticks and look after their own young, though occasionally they are known to follow the sneaking habits of their Old World cousins by laying an egg in the nest of a smaller bird.

All of the cuckoos, whether of the Old World or of the New World, are migratory in their habits, except those which nest in the tropics. In England and Europe generally the cuckoo is regarded as the har-

binger of spring and to this fact much of its fame is due. The writer well remembers hearing with pleasure the note of the cuckoo in the charming country in the vicinity of Richmond upon the Thames, in England, and being startled by its very precise resemblance to the staccato accents of a Swiss cuckoo clock.

The American cuckoos have a rather different note; a long, rolling sound ending in coo, coo, coo, or cow, cow, cow. All of the cuckoos have one virtue, so far as mankind is concerned, in that they devour certain spiny and hairy caterpillars which are repugnant to other birds.

We learn that one hundred and twenty-eight autopsies upon this bird have disclosed that eighty-eight per cent. of its food consists of injurious insects, including the coleoptera as well as night-flying moths, dragon flies, and, above all, its favorite food, those woolly caterpillars which are rather too much for most other birds to stomach. It is a foe in particular of that dangerous enemy of the oak tree, the processionary caterpillar, of which the late J. H. Fabre has written so entertainingly.

Does This Plant Exhibit Instinct?

A certain pretty little plant, the eye-bright, *Euphrasia officinalis*, bearing tiny, snow-white flowers, daintily marked with a yellow spot and delicate violet lines, has a certain peculiarity with respect to the fertilization of the seed, which suggests the idea, according to a writer in *Kosmos* (Stuttgart) that its behavior resembles instinct in animals. It grows upon sunny meadows and is an excellent forage plant. As its German name (eye comfort) indicates, it is valued as a remedy for eye troubles. It is diligently gathered by many people and is indeed employed for the making of a homœopathic medicine. Herr Engeln writes of it:

How much this lowly little plant loves the sunshine I was able to see on a meadow sloping to the east, but bounded by high pine trees on the south and the west. In the morning the meadow is exposed to the full light of the sun, but in the afternoon it lies in shadow. While the entire meadow was thickly sown with the eyebright, practically not a single plant grew upon the shaded borders. One could see even in the morning the precise outline of the shadow which lay there in the afternoon by

means of the strikingly sharp contrast made by the white flowers of the surface covered with blossoms against the green of that strip of land where the plant refuses to grow.

But it is the biological habit of the *Euphrasia* which is of the greatest interest. The flowers depend, like so many others, upon insects for the fertilization of the seed. Unlike most of these cross-fertilized blossoms, however, under circumstances where the visiting insect fails to appear, the plant at once sets about remedying the lack by a change of habit:

This process can be observed at one's ease if one carries a few of the plants into the house and puts them in water. The pollen filled anthers of the stamens are plainly visible at the mouth of the flower. The pistil with its stigma extends above them. But when no insect visits the plant (as would of course be the case in the house under the conditions of the experiment) the pistil slowly begins to grow longer; as it grows it curves downward until the stigma lies directly beneath the anther of the stamen. Not until then does the anther open and let fall its pollen upon the stigma. This behavior of the plant is so amazingly well adapted to the desired object, that one can but think of the operations of instinct in animals.

Night Singers Among Our Birds

In our August number the following statement appeared:

The oven-bird is the only night singer among the American birds, unless one wishes to include the nighthawk and whippoorwill, which are not real vocalists.

A correspondent in Virginia, commenting on the above statement, says:

To my personal knowledge the mocking bird often sings persistently and ecstatically on moonlight nights in late summer. I have known a lady who wanted to have one killed because, she said, he kept her awake at night with his singing.

The queer notes of the yellow-breasted chat can often be heard at night about the same time of the year. This bird has a curious succession of notes divided by pauses, sometimes a single note which seems entirely irrelevant. These notes are not given in any regular order. I have often listened and tried to guess which one he would give next, but not very often successfully.

Several other readers have certified to the nocturnal singing habits of the mocking bird. Our claim for the oven-bird was erroneous, except as applied to a very limited region in our Northern States.

THE NEW BOOKS

History and Biography

Revolutionary New England: 1691-1776. By James Truslow Adams. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 469 pp. Ill.

Two years ago, through the publication of "The Founding of New England," Mr. Adams at once took a place in the first rank of our historical writers, and was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the best history of that year. In that work he traversed ground that had long been familiar to all Americans who knew anything at all about their national origins, and yet gave essentially a new interpretation to the period. His second book, "Revolutionary New England," deals with a far more obscure, although later, period than the first. He begins his narrative immediately after the English Revolution of 1688, and carries it down to the memorable 1776 of our beginnings as a nation. Adopting the thesis, which will probably be accepted as reasonable by all scientific historians, that the American Revolution had its beginnings in New England long before war was thought of, Mr. Adams brings to bear the resources and methods of modern scholarship in presenting his interpretation of Colonial history. Naturally, his conclusions do not always square with the preconceptions of those of us who were brought up on the school histories of a bygone day, but most of them, we believe, will be accepted by those students of New England history who are most competent to form and hold opinions.

The Story of the Walloons. By William Elliot Griffis. Houghton Mifflin Company. 298 pp.

"The Belgic Pilgrim Fathers of the Middle States," as Dr. Griffis terms them, were the colonists whose story is related in this book. The Walloons, led by Jesse de Forest, were the first builders of homes for families and were tillers of the soil of New Belgium, which comprised the area of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware in 1626. This account by Dr. Griffis is a belated tribute to the virtues of those pioneer home-makers. The publication is timely, in view of the coming centenary celebration of the founding of New York and the Middle States.

A Study of International Government. By Jessie Wallace Hughan. Thomas Y. Crowell. 401 pp.

In the discussion of the League of Nations that has been active for the past five years comparatively little thought has been given to the historical aspect of the question. This new book in "Crowell's Social Science Series" is not a plea for or against the present League, but is rather a survey of the efforts at government among nations since the dawn of civilization. The book shows, for example,

how the Papacy during the Middle Ages approached a form of international government. The historical portions of the book are followed by a chapter analyzing the constitution and achievement of the actual League.

A History of Commerce. By Clive Day. Longmans, Green, and Company. 676 pp.

This has been for many years a standard book in its sphere. The World War made necessary a revision, dividing the narrative at the year 1914, since that date marked a complete revolution in the trend of international commerce. In covering the history of commerce during the war and in the years of peace immediately following the author has taken account of many matters of public finance, currency and foreign exchange which have modified in one way or another the course which trade has followed.

The Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt: Selections from his Writings and Speeches. Compiled by Hermann Hagedorn. Houghton Mifflin Company. 307 pp.

Without himself contributing a line beyond an editorial introduction to the volume, Mr. Hagedorn has succeeded in making this book of selections from the writings and speeches of Theodore Roosevelt serve as an interpretation of Roosevelt's philosophy, by an effective division and arrangement of the selections. Thus, the first forty pages of the book are occupied with stories from Mr. Roosevelt's historical writings which make clear in the most striking way his own mental attitude toward the heroic virtues of the American pioneers whom he portrays. As Mr. Hagedorn puts it, these stories reveal "the background of his mind." In the second and major division of the book the extracts have been arranged in such a way as to bring out the ethical, social, political and economic ideals for which Roosevelt stood throughout his life. These ideals, according to Mr. Hagedorn, are grouped about the five fundamental conceptions of good citizenship, just government, national unity, national strength and international peace. In the third main division a series of autobiographical narratives and letters discloses the man in action, following the precepts of his own preachments. In the structure of this book Mr. Hagedorn has magnified his office as compiler and has really made a distinct contribution to biography.

Jefferson Davis: President of the South. By H. J. Eckenrode. Macmillan. 371 pp.

Almost simultaneously with the publication of

the complete edition of the letters and papers of Jefferson Davis appears this trenchant and interesting study of the Confederacy's first and only President. Mr. Eckenrode has not attempted in this book to write a formal biography. He has availed himself of the Confederate correspondence in the "Official Records" published by the Government, and has concerned himself especially with the politico-military history of the Confederacy. His philosophy of history has evidently been modified by the influence of Madison Grant through his well-known work, "The Passing of the Great Race." In this epic of the Confederacy one of the finest passages is a tribute to the soldierly qualities of General Grant, the man to whom Davis and his government owed their downfall, in a military sense

William Jennings Bryan: a Study in Political Vindication. By Wayne C. Williams. Fleming H. Revell Company. 127 pp.

This is a view of Mr. Bryan from a new angle. It has not been customary among politicians of either of the great parties to regard the Bryan policies as "vindicated." Yet a review of the reforms advocated in past years by Mr. Bryan shows that more than one of them have been enacted into law. Mr. Bryan in the early years of his career stood for popular election of Senators, taxation of incomes, woman suffrage, and prohibition. The country has since ratified all these propositions. Mr. Williams makes a very clear and readable presentation of Mr. Bryan's position on these and other questions of popular interest.

Travel and Exploration

Mountain Climbing. By Francis A. Collins. The Century Company. 300 pp. Ill.

The introduction to the "New York Walk Book," noticed below, refers to the rapidly increasing interest in walking and mountaineering as evidenced by the great number of tramping clubs recently organized in all parts of the country. The book on mountain climbing by Mr. Collins comes at the right time to answer many of the questions likely to be raised by members of such clubs who propose engaging in mountain trail climbing. Mr. Collins has gone to the trouble to collect data about such clubs and their enterprises the world over. There is more work of this kind to be done and now under way here in our country than most of us are aware of. The American Rockies, both above and below the Canadian line, give full scope for the hardest adventurers among mountain climbers.

New York Walk Book (American Geographical Society, Outing Series No. 2: Raye R. Platt, Editor). With maps and many illustrations. By Raymond H. Torrey, Frank Place, Jr., Robert L. Dickinson. American Geographical Society of New York. 222 pp.

So far as we are aware, no work of this kind was ever before projected for any region within the boundaries of the United States. It is to be hoped that it is the first of a series of volumes covering many interesting scenic centers. Readers throughout the country are sure to find it interesting, not merely because it has to do with the region of which New York is the center, but because it hints at so many features which might be developed in similar books applying to Washington, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Denver and a score of other American cities. The sub-title modestly promises "suggestions for outings afoot within fifty to one hundred miles of the city." But this phrase conveys no idea of the vast amount of detailed information which is presented along with these suggestions. Every direction given for a walk is based on the detailed and specific knowledge of the authors, who have not only been over these trails repeatedly but in many cases have had much to do with the making and marking of the trails. Mr. Torrey is editor of

the "Outing Page" of the New York *Evening Post*; Mr. Place is president of the "Tramp and Trail Club"; and Dr. Dickinson's faithful sketches of points of scenic interest are labors of love, developed after years of familiarity with the subjects. There are eight maps in color on the scale of one inch to two miles. These have been reduced from the United States Geological Survey sheets, and show drainage, topography and culture. All trails mentioned in the text are shown. Springs and wells are also marked. These maps cover practically the entire area within easy access from the city. In addition, there are access maps showing all rail connections for one-day trips from New York, and there is an index of place names. The pocket edition of the



CLIMBING THE KLEINGLOCKNER (ALPS) AT AN ELEVATION OF 13,000 FEET

(From "Mountain Climbing")

"Walk Book" has narrow margins and flexible covers for easy carrying. A special edition, with wide margins and handsome binding, carries fifteen half-tone inserts, and with this Dr. Dickinson's little book on the Palisades Interstate Park is bound in as a supplement. The American Geographical Society has done well to leave for a moment the beaten track of its scientific work to produce so valuable and stimulating a book as this.

Beautiful America. By Vernon Quinn. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 333 pp. Ill.

Descriptions of American mountain ranges, East and West, picturesque rivers and lakes, stretches of seashore, and, last but not least, the national parks and monuments and the scenic wonders of Alaska. The book is illustrated from photographs.

Seeing the Middle West. By John T. Faris. Philadelphia: Lippincott Company. 253 pp. Ill.

Dr. Faris has covered a great part of the United

States in his series of travel books. They are all highly interesting and well illustrated. In some respects the volume devoted to the Middle West is quite as interesting as the others, largely, perhaps, because the general reader does not expect to find the picturesque in the Middle West. Dr. Faris has found there many scenic features which fully justify the publication of a volume on the subject.

A Dash Through Europe. By Edmund G. Gress. Oswald Publishing Company. 254 pp. Ill.

In this little book the editor of the *American Printer* chats of a seven-weeks' European trip, including visits to many points of special interest to members of the printers' craft. The book itself, which is profusely illustrated, is a beautiful example of fine printing.

The Spell of Provence. By André Hallays. Boston: L. C. Page & Company. 367 pp. Ill.

A series of notes and impressions, suggesting in the author's own way the atmosphere of Provence.

Other Recent Publications

Hawkeye. By Herbert Quick. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 477 pp. Ill.

Mr. Quick has written a striking and appropriate successor to "Vandemark's Folly," in his series depicting the history of Iowa. As a story, "Hawkeye" is not strictly a sequel to the earlier book. It is centered in the career of Fremont McConkey, or at least in the first twenty years of that career, beginning in 1857 at just about the time when Iowa herself was coming into being. The plot is wholly new and unrelated to the earlier story, although Vandemarks appear from time to time, reminding us of an Iowa still more primitive. That was a great period in the State's history, and Mr. Quick has neglected no phase of it—politics, the pests, the loss of crops, and countless other setbacks that loomed in the path of the pioneer. Chiefly, "Hawkeye" is a story of local Iowa politics in the '70's. There is in it abundant material for the historian who will some day be in search for just such "human documents."

North of 36. By Emerson Hough. D. Appleton and Company. 429 pp. Ill.

The last story written by Mr. Hough before his death proves to have been one of his very best. Yet we are not concerned with "North of 36" merely as a story. It is a useful book because it treats intensively of a period in our Southwestern history which has heretofore received none too much attention. The tale begins in the reconstruction days, following the Civil War, in the State of Texas, where the cattle business had been virtually shot to pieces and those who engaged in it were at the mercy of outlaw bands. The central episode of the book is the driving of a herd of cattle northward to the Kansas-Pacific railroad. This was accomplished under the greatest difficulty by the

young girl who was owner and manager of one of the great Texas ranches. So began the great northward movement of Texas cattle which grew in volume as the years went on. Like all of Mr. Hough's studies of the Southwestern country, this book may be relied on for fidelity to detail. It forms a vitally interesting chapter in the economic history of our Southwest.

Prohibition and Its Enforcement. (The *Annals*, September, 1923.) Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science. 285 pp.

Practically every important phase of the ever-present Prohibition question is treated in monographical form in the papers brought together in this publication. The opponents as well as the advocates of legal Prohibition have their say. Mr. W. H. Stayton discusses the question from the standpoint of the "Association Against the Prohibition Amendment." Hon. Henry S. Priest, of the St. Louis Bar, writes on "The Eighteenth Amendment—a Violation and Infringement of Liberty." Dr. Fabian Franklin, of the *Independent*, attempts an answer to the question "What's Wrong with the Eighteenth Amendment?" Mr. John Koren enumerates certain "Inherent Fraillities of Prohibition," and Senator Walter E. Edge, of New Jersey, pictures the "Non-effectiveness of the Volstead Act." On the other hand, an employment manager, Mr. Eugene J. Bengel, of the Atlantic Refining Company, declares himself as wholly and unreservedly in favor of Prohibition. He is strongly reinforced by Mr. Robert A. Woods, of South End House, Boston, formerly a member of the Boston Licensing Board. The symposium ends with a word from Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania—"Why I Believe in Enforcing the Prohibition Laws."